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Social Work
A Family Builder

A Text-Book for Nurses, Dietitians, Home Demonstration Agents, Home Economists, and Special Teachers

By
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FOREWORD

To those who know the fruitfulness of the teachings of this author, and who have coveted for larger numbers of the ever-increasing army of health and welfare workers the opportunity of her constructive and inspiring classroom hours, this little volume is a timely and needed output. By her students the book will be eagerly welcomed, and it will measure up to their expectations, for it will revive their fading impressions, recall sharply to them their social responsibilities, and reassure them through suggestion and direction.

The book is a challenge as well as a text; a prophecy not less than a guide. As one reads its pages, however depressing and unyielding are the social problems presented, the dominant note of social progress rises clear and convincing. Through it indeed, "A new voice speaks to the souls of men and women, calling for a new age with all its altered relationships and adventures of life."* In the application of science, so well defined as organized common sense, to the now generally accepted most strategic point of community attack, the family, to the end that effect may be traced to cause, is laid the corner-stone of a new society. Here, through social case work, Philosophy, Faith and Art, directed by Science, are found conspiring together to quicken the understanding, inte-

*Sanderson of Oundle.

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grate the efforts and unify the objective of the long line of social workers, beginning with the teacher and ending with the parents—an objective which can be none other than the creation of the Great Society, which is the heir-apparent of a true Democracy.

ANNIE W. GOODRICH.
Dean of School of Nursing,
Yale University.

PREFACE

THE social worker's indispensable allies in the warfare against social ills are the nurse, the dietitian, the home economist, and the special teacher. They are taking a conspicuous part in the great social movements of the day and they desire to obtain a broader understanding of the social problems that are involved in the present-day organization of society. Schools and universities are meeting this demand by adding to the professional training of these specialists, courses in sociology and economics which, however, require interpretation in order to reveal their relation to the problems of every-day life.

The infant welfare nurse, the visiting nurse, the dietitian, the home economist, the special teacher finds herself in intimate contact with the social worker. They discover that they have a mutual concern for human trouble as together they face human need, and they also share a belief in the improvability of evil conditions. With so much likeness of purpose and outlook it remains for these services to become more effective through closer integration. This only may be attained on a basis of sympathetic understanding of one another's contribution to the common purpose of promoting human welfare.

The purpose of this book is to furnish an understanding of the principles of social work in behalf of families and individuals. Case histories are freely used for illustration in order to make plain the application of these principles to human difficulty.

Social work is a hazardous occupation, for the fact that if the worker loses her perspective she is apt also to lose her sense of direction and her sense of humor. Ardent devotees to any type of work are prone to the error of thinking that their particular type of work is an end in itself. To help the student to see social work in its relation to the larger aspects of social progress, the first four chapters describe its emergence from the prescientific age in company with political and economic changes as well as with other social movements.

The writer frankly holds to the belief that in order to be able to help solve the complexities of human trouble, more than a technic is required in that intermediary service known as social work. Just as social work must be scientific to be effective, so must the social worker possess a philosophy of life, independently arrived at, if she expects to influence her client to a different course of action. A reasoned faith in social progress, in the power of development of personality, will alone carry hope and determination to the discouraged and impotent. A point of view is the thing sought to be developed by this book, not dogmatically laid down, but lines of thought opened up by suggested reading, as well as by the text, in order that the student may independently explore and thus formulate her own conclusions.

Family social work is a highly specialized art. In order to understand and help human relations, the worker must comprehend many branches of science, she must evaluate diverse social and individual ethics, she must avail herself of many skills.

This study invites a quest into some of these channels by supplying a bibliography for further reading beside the supplementary reading to the text.

The particular aims of the book are:

1. To make the student aware of the complexity of human relationships and to cultivate a consideration of individual interests with regard to the interest of society; that she may recognize the interrelatedness of man's daily routine, his heredity and environment with his physical well-being.

2. To help the student to recognize symptoms of individual and social inadequacy, and to employ those orderly processes of reflective thinking which lead to the solution of the problem.

3. To enlarge her idea of what may be done to help human distress and to prevent social ills, and to make her acquainted with the usual resources of service to be found in a community, as well as unusual services of proven worth.

4. To help her to see that her larger purpose cannot be realized without the aid of other special services, and that all are called upon to make adjustments, one to the other, in order to release human capacity, the goal of organized social effort.

In no wise does this book claim to furnish sufficient instruction to equip a professional family social worker, this preparation may only be obtained in professional schools or departments of universities, where a liberal curriculum is offered together with supervised field experience.

The course which is the basis for this book is followed by practice in making adjustments in families under care of qualified social agencies, therefore this book will prove more helpful if it is used in conjunction with practice guided by a professional social case worker. The text serves only to interpret family social work and without experience paralleling its use, or following it, the instruction will be without reality.

The author desires to express her indebtedness to Professor M. Adelaide Nutting for stimulating and encouraging the writing of this book. The author wishes to acknowledge her deep appreciation of the help rendered by Dean Annie W. Goodrich and Miss Margaret Byington, who patiently read the manuscript and offered important suggestions. Also her thanks are extended to Professor B. Cunningham, Professor L. S. Hollingworth, and Dr. B. R. Andrews, who read chapters and made valuable recommendations. Lastly, gratitude is due the hundreds of students whose presence in the classroom has challenged the author to clear thinking and presentation of the subject.

HARRIET TOWNSEND.

NEW YORK CITY.
July, 1926.

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Social Work a Family Builder

Chapter I

THE REASON FOR SOCIAL WORK

Social work finds its foundation in the ancient and honorable injunction to do good to others. Today this benevolent action carries an implication of condescension which disagrees with our increased consciousness of human values. We repudiate the attitude while we cherish its enthusiasm for better living.

The world is looking toward a new relation of human beings. This new relationship is commencing to assume form in preliminary social measures in the centers of civilization, and the idea of such relations is stirring in the minds of those dwelling in the hinterlands of the world. It expresses itself in a bond to insure social justice, which shall afford opportunity to the individual to do good to himself by the exercise of newly conferred privileges and responsibilities, and shall open up the resources that society has hitherto held for the privileged few, saying to every individual, "Go to! Make yourself a person who will give back to society more than it has given to you."

Unlike the old easy-going idea that if everyone pursues his own interest, irrespective of others, he is doing the best for himself and for all, the new attitude starts with the knowledge that human individuality is complex

Man is affected by the world in which he lives, and the world in which he lives is affected by him. The increasing apprehension of the presence of this double series of effects makes it clear that co-operation will bring greater gain to man than will competition. The fact of the modern world's social and economic interdependence reaffirms the truth that every person's life touches other persons' lives; hence, in order that human beings may develop their individual possibilities every person must have due regard for the rights of others. No permanent gain is made by one individual at the expense of other members of his group. Individuality is not merged into dull uniformity by co-operation. By subordination to the traffic rules in the city street we are momentarily deterred from outstripping our fellows, but in the end the gain is obviously ours, for freedom of movement in a crowd is only possible in as far as all conform to certain controls. Our rights and the rights of others to safety and progress are thereby insured. The world in which we live is a crowded world and there are inevitable points of intersection between the individual and social life. For one not to be unduly subordinated to the other demands adjustment. To be a person in the full meaning of the word requires that harmonious relations must be maintained within the group in order that there may be freedom for expression of the unique individuality of the person.

Social work discovers the individual who is thwarted by a maladjusted environment and explains to society why it is that he has not become a person who contributes to the common good. To the individual social work explains what his real dilemma is and how he may be freed through the discovery of his latent capacities, the development of which waits on encouragement and adjustment to environment. The office of social work is

to strengthen the handicapped man, woman, or child so that they may take their place with others in the use of privileges and responsibilities, to the end that society may be enriched by the development of personality. Because social work has its eyes focused on human trouble it is among the first to detect injustices. Its knowledge of individual needs enables it to recognize and discover those conditions which fail to supply these needs and which in effect prevent the individual from living a life worthy to be called human.

Take, for instance, public education: in this age society has advanced to the point of declaring that it is the right of every child to receive education. This country furnishes and even compels schooling for every child. The social worker was among the first to discover that every child is not free to take advantage of this opportunity in the manner in which it is provided by the public school system. The blind, the crippled, the neglected, the backward child was unable to fit into the regular class-room routine. Groups of people had to be made aware of these children's special needs and be induced to provide for them. When it had been proved that special handicaps would yield to understanding treatment, that education could be devised to develop to the utmost such powers as these handicapped ones possessed, then it was regarded as only just that the public school system of the state should include special education and care for these unequally endowed children.

"The one fundamental equality (of which all others are, at best, consequences or conditions) is in the right inherent in each as a human soul to be put in possession of himself through the development of his powers."[1]

A large part of social work, therefore, represents a continuous practical effort to determine the rights of man and

to secure those rights. From its watch-tower social work points out the hazard to society if the latter fails to conserve the welfare of the individual.

The Social Point of View

The progress made by industry toward solving its own problem of unemployment is an interesting example of this enlarged understanding that social welfare is bound up in individual welfare. The new attitude recognizes the responsibility of the individual business concern for its own employment problem. The fatalistic idea that periods of unemployment are unavoidable is abandoned in progressive quarters. A few business firms have already laid hands on the problem; they have devised schemes of management, stabilized jobs, and when regularization has brought no work, they have put into operation plans of unemployment insurance which assure the workman of support. These pioneers are proving that this great social problem, hitherto met by temporary relief measures of soup kitchens and day-to-day jobs for the unemployed, can be controlled.

The basis of this intelligent plan is a general belief in the power of society to change its customs to fit existing conditions, and a particular belief that "Capitalism must sooner or later assume the financial burden for whatever labor reserves it carries to meet its expansions and contractions of production."[2] If the time comes, as signs seem to indicate, when the price of goods will include the cost of keeping the individual worker fit, then the fact will be generally realized that there is no opposing tendency between the individual and society, for each is a different aspect of the same thing.

Human history records the experience of the race to prove that "The progress of man requires the co-operation

of man for its development"; that "Man can only progress in co-operative groups," and that "Unless you can make a strong co-operative bond, your society will be conquered and killed out by some other society which has such a bond."[3]

Personality the Concern of Social Work

The recognition that personality is an essential attainment for everyone is one of the new things under the sun in this old world of ours. Woman in the old-fashioned novel was satisfied to lose her individuality in that of her husband if only she could obtain one. And, indeed, it was a serious matter, for in the old days there was no status for a woman without a husband. There was no status for children either, except for those of noble birth. We are born as individuals and only become persons when we establish for ourselves a position in society. This status is the result of holdings which we have secured in the esteem of others, of material possessions which we have gained, all because into these relations, into these possessions, we have put ourselves. What we are is discovered in the quality of these relations and in these possessions to which we have given ourselves. Every individual belongs to a group and has status in that group. It is my friends, my work, my property, which tells the story of what I am. The negative personality has not found himself in outside interests. There are few relations, few activities, that he describes as "mine."

If upon the eve before a busy day a man discovers that he has lost his keys, it is symbolic for him to remark, "I am lost without my keys." He is, indeed, lost because that individual is thereby deprived of parts of himself. He is shut out from his desk, his home, and his club, all of the places where he belongs and where he has belong-

ings. No wonder that he is distressed and distrait. It is quite as significant to speak of a man losing himself in a desert. In commenting on this expression Woodrow Wilson said, "If you reflect a moment you will see that is the only thing he has not lost. He himself is there. What he means—is that he has lost all the rest of the world." . . . "When may I say that I have come to myself? Only when I have come to recognize my true relations with the rest of the world."[4]

The failures in life have become so because they have lost temporarily or permanently their place in their natural group; for we are so much a part of our group that when conditions over which we have no control, or our own conduct separates us from it, we are indeed lost. The homeless, the unemployed, the family deserter, and the runaway youth all present problems because they have ceased to belong to the place which gave them status and to which they gave something of themselves. Today one of the most serious social problems of lost relationships is in the field of industry. Conflict arises in the industrial world because the substitution of large scale production for small scale manufacture has estranged the relation between employer and employee. It has also deprived the workman of control over the instruments of production and the conditions under which he works. His uncertain tenure of the job, subject as he is to a shutdown or a lockout, weakens his sense of belonging to the works. He feels that he is not an integral part of the plant. His status is uncertain and he is not only fearful of losing his job, which means bread and shelter to him and his, but he is restive under the restriction of his personal independence. When on the employee's side there is ignorance of the problems of management, and on the part of the employer lack of interest in the needs of

labor, misunderstandings arise which nourish competing suspicions. Therefore under the spur of self-defense and immediate self-interest the employee resorts to the strike, and the employer, exasperated with labor's attitude which he does not take the pains to understand, uses the weapon of the lockout. Serious antagonism ensues and a grave social situation presents itself.

In the personal relations of family life estrangement often occurs because youth's aspiration to be somebody is not understood by parents reared in the old world tradition of complete subordination of the individual to the elders of the family group. When the parents remain unbending in their attitude toward the grown boy and girl in restricting their independence unduly, and youth is not sufficiently moved by affection to give in to their demands, these broken family relations are frequently presented to a court for settlement under the charge of waywardness and delinquency.

It is at the discovery of the loss of relationship that social work attempts adjustment. Effort is made to revive and strengthen those relations which will serve to establish self-respecting status.

Control the Central Idea of Social Work

The idea of control lies at the center of development of social work. Believing as social work does in the power of change in persons and in society, it sets itself the task of adjusting individuals to their groups and of promoting such social conditions as will insure the release of human capacity to the point where its exercise makes for social enhancement.

The human race is young in its mastery of environment. A historian who ingeniously reduces the story of humanity to a scale of a life of fifty years describes the

comparative eras of man as if he had spent forty-nine years in the wandering savage state, two months in the Christian era, and one week in the present age of liberty.[5] Little wonder is it that social work is given over, for the most part, to clearing obstructions from the path, and that programs of health conservation and child care have a long pioneer period before them. The effort to make people fit and strong for the battle of life is often the all-absorbing task. This immediate and pressing service is not an end in itself, however, but a means of releasing human powers for the things of mind and spirit.

There was discovered living with his mother in a wretched hut remote from a village, itself isolated from the highroads of travel, an eleven-year-old boy who walked on all fours like an animal. His condition was the result of infantile paralysis, or poliomyelitis. This, together with his isolated home and his mother's poverty and ignorance, had cut him off from human contact so that he was slow of speech and uncontrolled. The village regarded his condition, as did his mother, as that of a hopeless dependent, and believed that he would be a lifelong burden. Sixteen months of persistent persuasion exerted over the mother, with the help of neighbors and relatives, brought the boy under medical treatment. Now after two years he is standing and walking upright. Special teaching has given him power of expression. He has achieved the fourth grade in school and his hands have acquired skill in a craft. He is fast becoming normal and is gaining self-reliance and self-respect. To the surprise of old neighbors, he has developed an affectionate consideration for others, which has made many friends for him in his new world.

The liberation of this human being from an animal existence was brought about because the social worker

was not content to accept the boy's condition as hopeless. She did not rest until she had brought him into touch with those human scientific contacts and skills which would free his capacity. Like a bit of Rodin sculpture his human nature emerged from an insensate block in the form of a healthy, happy boy.

There is no such thing as blind fate pushing man forward into inevitable disaster. The distinct characteristic of human life is its power to maintain itself by renewal and by its ability to lay hands upon the course of events and redirect them. Human intelligence and desires control and subjugate those forces which help man to achieve values. The family and the community offer fields where the individual's relationships make him into a person. Social work is an intermediary service to assist man to achieve his values by adjustment, integration, and control of these fields. The child-placing division can offer more evidence that social work does effect this purpose than can other phases, for it represents more control over environment than does work with the adult. The latter is subject to so many influences that it is difficult for social work to prove that it was the determining factor of change. As an illustration of the power of social work to redirect human life we may cite the study of how foster children turn out, a study made a year ago by the New York State Charities Aid Association. These children represent orphans and foundlings, also neglected childern removed from vicious parents. After studying the children's special needs, each had been placed in selected foster homes. The work had extended over a period of twenty-five years. In order to learn if the 910 children so placed had become successes or failures, inquiry was made in each case as to whether the individuals had proved capable of managing themselves and their own affairs with

ordinary prudence. It was found that 77 per cent. were supporting themselves honestly and adequately. They were working steadily, were law abiding, and they were living in accord with the better standards of their community. They had good social and personal ethics, and were, therefore, rated capable. Those who were found failing to get on, either because of irresponsibility or lack of general ability, were deemed incapable, and they represented 22 per cent. of the whole number. Therefore, by conservative and critical appraisal, three-fourths of these children were found to have made good.[6] It was learned from a study of the families of the children that approximately 80 per cent. came from bad backgrounds. From this evidence it seems fair to claim that social work is an intermediary service which may redirect the course of events and aid in the release of human capacity.

In order to discover a broader basis upon which to found such a claim more studies must be produced, such as the one mentioned. Some are under way, and they are drawing from the records of social case-working agencies material which yields amazing proof of what may be done to release human beings from their troubles by means of intelligent control.

Decay of Civilizations

To read of recent excavation into the remains of man's habitations reminds us that civilizations hold within themselves the seeds of decay as well as seeds of life. The digging into the hill of Beisan in Palestine, the Beth-Shean of the Old Testament of the Bible, reveals a vivid picture of the rise and fall of eight distinct civilizations, which during thirty-two centuries occupied 20 feet of vertical space.[7] Before the World War people were complacent toward modern civilization in the Western

World. Facts which reveal menacing social conditions, hitherto apprehended only by the student, have now become matters of popular information, and so the illusion that all's right with the world is somewhat shattered. Is there any intrinsic value in Western civilization which would justify the expectation that it would not succumb to decay like other periods rich in culture and art?

The sudden development of large-scale industry in the Western World during the nineteenth century crowded and hurtled together vast aggregations of people. In the break-up of the old social order many of the fine things of human intercourse seem to have disappeared. Folk, uprooted from spacious rural life, have been so absorbed in adjusting themselves to cramped dwellings and jostling crowds, that they have scarcely begun to search for ways of social accommodation under changed conditions.

While exploration in the physical world has apparently almost exhausted its fields of discovery, yet the isolated poles of human relationships still await the social explorer. It is for him to link the poles together by a medium which will attune the common interests and interpret the peculiar characteristics of all peoples so that human understanding may become sensitive to a respect and appreciation of human values. Only upon a basis of sympathetic understanding will co-operation work to bring about social unity. This calls for the exercise of the spiritual qualities of subordination of individual immediate interests to larger social interests, and it also calls for generous participation in public affairs.

It revives hope in social progress to learn from present-day study of personality that man possesses a spiritual potentiality hitherto undreamed of, which, if given play and not thwarted by clumsy custom and physical handicaps, will redeem this mechanized civilization of ours.

If liberated, this power may not only equal but exceed the astounding achievements of man within the physical world. What is more, if personality and spiritual values do not outstrip the advances made in physical science, our boasted civilization will take its place in the buried strata of the world's ages.

The Dehumanizing Effect of Present-day Civilization

What do social studies reveal when the reality of present-day conditions is faced? What is revealed when present-day civilization is appraised according to the quality of human living it offers to all of its citizens?

In no field is the pressure of modern life more apparent than in the housing of the nation's people. The homes of wage earners reflect the scant value placed on human living. Centralized manufacture and business, inadequate transportation facilities, combined with greed, have produced congestion and overcrowding, whereby air and sunlight, to say nothing of family privacy, are excluded. In order to make a living families come from the country to the city. They find that the city has to offer them for a home but two or three dark tenement rooms at exorbitant rents. To be sure, many of these families have left rude shanties and crowded cottages in the country, but air and sun were to be had by stepping over the doorstep. Rachitis, the disease which is afflicting such large numbers of city children, is induced by the absence of sunlight. Elaborate solaria have to be supplied to remedy a condition largely brought about because the home, the habitat of the young human animal, has been deprived of air and sun.

Housing studies from smaller cities picture much the same conditions as those found in an investigation of New

York City housing conditions in 1923. A later report of 1925 stated that for 73 per cent. of the population (those having an income less than $2500) conditions have not materially changed since 1923. The earlier report showed that 165,000 families, comprising 663,000 persons, were improperly housed. "Thousands and thousands of people in the city are sleeping and living in apartments so dark that gas light must be burned all day; so airless that in summer the families are forced to sleep on the roofs; so foul smelling because of garbage in hallways, in courts and streets, that one of the only two windows in the flat has to be kept shut. The tenants must descend five or six flights of stairs to dispose of garbage, for dumb waiters are seldom in repair. Toilets for two to five families are in the halls or in the yards. The sanitary condition of the toilets is bad. There is insufficient water, neglected plumbing, and no ventilation or light."[8]

Industry also reflects a national disregard of the value of human life. Industrial accidents in the United States annually cause 25,000 deaths. They cause a like number of serious permanent disabilities and 2,000,000 temporary disabilities of more than three days' duration.[9] In the United States mining has three or four times the fatality rate of Great Britain. In that country a scientific remedy for the elimination of coal dust explosions is universally used to safeguard human life.[10]

In 1920, 1,060,858 of the nation's children, between ten and fifteen years of age, were gainfully employed, thousands of them under conditions detrimental to health and morals.[11] A study of New York State's working children in 1924 revealed that 49 per cent., or nearly one-half of those studied, had some physical defect, which was found to be intensified by the requirements of their jobs.[12]

The Women's Bureau of the United States Depart-

ment of Labor in 1921 found in its studies of thousands of working women that long hours of work, ten to thirteen a day, prevailed for both men and women in many industries. In some of the largest woolen and textile mills the mothers of little children are obliged to supplement the father's wages by working at night. Exhausted by the double task of tending the home and earning income, these work-worn mothers ask the question, "Is life worth living?"[13] Women are also employed in many hazardous industries where they are exposed to poisonous fumes, dust, and gases. Lead poisoning in a woman is a race poison, resulting in sterility, a larger portion of children born dead, or a larger proportion dying in the first years of their lives.[14]

Unemployment is more general than is generally recognized and the job is characteristically unsteady. A careful study of the United States Bureau of Statistics showed that "during the twenty years ending in 1918 unemployment was responsible for an average loss of sixty days each year by every wage earner in the United States, thirty days of complete unemployment, and thirty days lost on account of part time work while on an employer's pay roll."[15]

It is evident that man is breaking under the strain of modern life. Insanity is increasing in the United States, the ratio of persons in institutions for the insane has increased from 81.6 per 100,000 in 1880, to 229.6 per 100,000 in 1918.[16] Homicide is taking a large toll of life. The rate for 28 American cities, with an aggregate population of 21,000,000 for 1924, was 10.3 per 100,000, which is almost double the rate for 1900, or twenty-five years ago. Anticipation that the rate had reached a maximum point during 1923 was not realized. The murder situation in America is worse than ever. In 1922 the United States

had sixteen times as many homicides as England and Wales together.[17] Suicide statistics for 80 American cities for 1923 to 1924 show an increase in the ratio of 71 cities. "In the light of more than thirty years' experience with the suicidal problem," says Mr. Frederick Hoffman, "the conviction is forced upon me that the recorded mortality understates the actual extent of a very serious social problem."[18] Social institutions are affected by this general human deterioration. Eleven per cent. of marriages in the United States terminate in divorce, and divorce is increasing three times as fast as the population.[19] The courts reflect the present-day social maladjustment in the extent of crime and the delay of justice. No less a person than ex-President Taft was moved to write in 1919, "Of all the questions that are before the American people, I regard none as more important than the improvement of the administration of justice. The common people are losing faith in the laws of justice."[20]

This is a startling array of social ills, and as their existence is coming to be a matter of common knowledge, organized effort is striving to cope with them. Science, industry, religion, and government are represented in the attempt to improve conditions, and social work, in cooperation with them, contributes the following services:

Social Research.—A service of discovery and interpretation of what the economy of life is doing to the man, woman, and child.

Community Social Work.—A group service of popular education, recreation, and institutional care.

Family Social Work or Case Work.—A service to assist the individual and the family to overcome handicaps and to make adjustments to life in order that the person may be put in possession of himself through the development of his powers.

Chapter II

BACKGROUNDS OF SOCIAL WORK

Ancient Pathways

The world has always shown concern for human distress, and the medium by which it has sought to help has been dictated by the motive and the spirit of the age.

To attain an understanding of present-day social work we must trace the strands which have gone into its making. The pattern will only be revealed if we look behind the fabric and pick out the threads which give it permanence, service, and design.

Why People Want to Help Human Suffering

First we must analyze the intent or motives of the doers in order that we may discover the power which has produced all of the manifold forms of human succor. The approach is made in the spirit of inquiry, to invite thought on the question why people want to help human suffering.

Sympathy springs to mind as an indispensable motive, but as it is sometimes identified with pity in its modern usage let us see if there is a similarity. Sympathy, as generally understood, is founded on likeness. Sympathy flows out naturally from an experience shared with others.

When no natural association exists between you and the person for whom you desire to obtain a sympathetic understanding, a deliberate effort must be made to comprehend his life experience. This calls for a projection of one's self into his feelings, ideas, and aspirations. This

act of the imagination must be built on a knowledge of how the other person's bodily and spiritual needs are met in the day's routine.

When the child in play wishes to become somebody else, George Washington, for instance, he dons a cocked hat and brandishes a sword so that his imagination may be supplemented by the feel of his hero's uniform. The adult who desires to experience and understand the purposes of another's life must strip off the garments of make-believe; he must see beneath the disguise of appearance, in order to get at the real person who dwells within. We all have patterns into which we fit different kinds of people. The way to understanding is to cast these pattern ideas to the winds and to start a search for individual persons, noting the things which are held in common.

Does this not suggest that the resident in a settlement, by adopting the neighborhood life of the poor as his own, employs a method of projection of self into reality in order to gain a sympathetic understanding? For this reason the settlement has served as interpreter of social groups one to the other. From a conscious bond with neighbors it has attained a motive power which drives it into untiring effort for the improvement of social conditions. It often becomes the dominant drive in the life of the social worker who yearns to bring fulfilment to human values. He has found a way to the discovery of these values which religion and purely ethical teaching have told him were possessed by all men.

Sympathy has ever been the main socializing force in the world and is indispensable to human civilization. If it had not been that human groups had recognized a real likeness in mind and feeling with other groups there never would have been those social, political, and economic

combinations which by their strength and stability have gained such progress as man has achieved. In the inevitable conflict between antagonistic interests sympathy has emphasized common interests which have agreed to render mutual aid because its helpfulness has proved efficacious. Mutual aid has been an imposing force in the history of the race, and without it leaders in thought and action would have been lonely voices crying in the wilderness.

Now in contrast to sympathy, which helps because of recognition of likeness, pity helps because of recognition of difference. The man dominated by pity witnesses human misery on the street or hears a tale of suffering. He may feel temporary discomfort at the contrast between his own satisfied state and that of the needy one. He seeks to forget the unpleasant sensation by throwing a coin and turning away. On the other hand, pity may increase his own sense of comfort by marking the difference between himself and a less fortunate man. He stoops to give a little aid from his plenty and passes on swelling with self-satisfaction.

Desire for justice is a mighty moving force in propelling people to action for the sake of others. It is easy to see that sympathy may transpose its emotion to the plane of justice where much of its most effective work has been accomplished. Self-interest is a legitimate motive not to be despised when it becomes enlightened self-interest. Analysis of appeals for the support of modern social work yields many interesting examples of the skilful employment of this motive. Fear that the oppressed may resort to violence in order to secure redress of their grievances often induces government officials to undertake measures for social improvement. Their policy is supported by an electorate whose apprehensions are similarly

aroused. On the other hand, genuine patriotism is often responsible for numerous acts in behalf of humanity because of an informed public opinion which appreciates the meaning of national integrity. An extended humanitarianism, a concern for the whole human race, has moved many men and women to risk their lives. Scientific experiments that have resulted in saving human life have often taken human life in the doing. Doctors Carroll and Lazear come to mind as physicians who were prepared to make the supreme sacrifice when they exposed themselves to the mosquito carrier of yellow fever and Dr. Lazear died from the deadly infection. Again, achievement for the satisfaction found in accomplishment leads on to tireless effort in behalf of others and reinforces other motives. Then there are the spiritual leaders who, like St. Francis of Assisi, possess a genuine love of all men as a natural outcome of their religion and they work untiringly in response to its demands. The mention of these various motives not only suggest others, but remind us that human action generally springs from mixed motives. One reinforces or detracts from the other.

The Static and the Dynamic Approach

Both motive and the spirit of the age determine the approach that is made to the problem of human suffering. In reviewing the ways of helping human distress practised yesterday and today, one may identify them as either static or dynamic.

The static approach regards human trouble as a fixed condition which is inevitable, one in which there is no hope of improvement; it believes that once poor always poor. Therefore it views its work as palliative. It relieves suffering by temporary material aid, or provides permanent care in institutions. The dynamic approach

regards human trouble as a condition which may be changed and improved. While recognizing that there are some conditions too far gone in deterioration to be salvaged, it yet believes in the power of change in the individual and in society. It believes that man has within himself the power to advance as well as to retrograde. It addresses its efforts to make this advance possible by freeing man of handicaps and opening up to him opportunity.

Let us now briefly survey the past in order to observe the ancient application of these motives to human distress.

Egyptian Patriotism and Science

In Egypt, one of the oldest civilizations, religion taught kindliness, justice, and charity. These expressed themselves in acts of hospitality to strangers, feeding the hungry, and caring for the sick. Patriotism prompted scientific aid for Egypt's soldiers in the form of medical care. This was granted freely to the defenders of the kingdom. Lest this be taken as a matter of course, recall that the Hebrew civilization, recorded in the Old Testament of the Bible, made no such provision. The chronicle of battles includes no mention of care for Israel's wounded. There is only thought of triumph, that the Lord has slain thousands and ten thousands of the enemy. In contrast to this neglect of sufferings on the battlefield there was among the Israelites tender concern for the widow, the orphan, the afflicted person. The Hebrew was also bidden by his God to give shelter to the stranger, and Job, the servant of the Lord, comforts himself with the recollection that he was "eyes to the blind and feet to the lame";[21] "I was a father to the poor, and I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy."[22]

Hebrew Religion and Social Justice

A contribution of unique worth was the social message of the Hebrew prophets. They identified social and religious duty. They called upon the nation to safeguard the weak. "The vineyard of the Lord of Hosts is the house of Israel. He looked for judgment, but beheld oppression." "Ye have eaten up the vineyard, the spoil of the poor is in your houses." "Ye grind the faces of the poor."[23]

This thunder of righteous indignation resounds through the ages, and it is not strange that some of the conspicuous leaders in securing social justice today are members of this race from whom their God first demanded social righteousness instead of burnt offerings.

Greek and Roman Social Consciousness

Greek civilization has given to the world the idea that the state or city is an organism rather than an organization. This state consciousness made the well-being of the individual a matter of public concern. The conservation of the individual was regarded as necessary lest the whole city or state become weakened. This view imposed a civic duty upon the citizen to pay a tax into a common fund which would take care of his social obligation. This fund was dispensed in regular public grants of food and money for the aged, the orphan, and the widow, and it appeared to be a forerunner of present-day governmental pensions for old age and widowed motherhood. The politicians of that day made use of this social service in order to gain popular following. Rome, which took so much from Greece, imitated this large scale method of caring for poverty, and her politicians went even further in granting state funds for the relief of need. Finally, the

giving of free corn, oil, and pork became so indiscriminate that hard-working people cried out that the recipients were living better than those who supported themselves by toil. However, this administrative abuse of state relief was insignificant when we consider the great contribution made by ancient Rome to social order. To her the Western world owes its idea of society founded on law, a system of rules by which society has agreed to control human actions. Law represents a form of social control which Rome applied to the protection of the weak. In Roman law the progress toward independence and freedom of woman was remarkably rapid, for under more ancient law she was subjected to the arbitrary control of men. In contrast with the liberal treatment finally accorded to woman the Roman law was slow to protect children against the abuses of the traditional absolute power of fathers over their offspring. But gradually this savage power of fathers was restricted until in the later empire period children were safeguarded in their right to life. This administration of justice in behalf of the oppressed is a significant heritage from the past to the social worker of today who is seeking to secure human rights.

Piety also prompted the religious Greek and Roman to give privately to the stranger and the stricken. At the siege of Cyrhha near Delhi, when pestilence broke out, Nebrus, a cultivated physician, was summoned. At his own expense he brought a vessel of supplies, and by his skill and devotion arrested the course of the disease.

Ancient Greece was identified with the development of the science of medicine, as was ancient India. In these lands, as far as is known, public hospitals were first opened to the poor.

The Christian Era—The Value of the Individual—Fellowship

The Christian era kindled a new spirit and a changed attitude toward human suffering. Man himself was valued as an individual who possessed a spiritual power for self-development. Because of Christianity's emphasis on the human quality, that of man's power of change, the slave, the barbarian, the outcast, could no longer be deemed unworthy of consideration. With this renewed appreciation of the man, the woman, and the child came the teaching that all are members of one body. If one suffers, all suffer. The human birthright is membership and a fellowship which carried with it not only a social obligation, but a joy of service. The story is related that as two leaders of the new faith, Peter and Paul, approached the Temple, at The Gate Beautiful, a lame beggar stretched out his hand for the customary alms. Peter paused, bade him look at him, and said, "Silver and gold have I none, but such as I have give I thee. In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, rise up and walk."[24] And he took him by the right hand and lifted him up, and the man stood and walked.

Aid to self-recovery, because of a sympathetic insight into the real need of man to realize his potential value, became the Christian method. This kind of approach to human suffering may be properly described as the dynamic attitude.

Church Relief

With the growth of Christianity the fellowship of groups as well as individuals was expressed by congregational aid. Within the congregation itself, where the members were known one to the other, the individual needs of the widow, the orphan, and the sick were cared

for by the personal ministrations of their fellows. Here we have the nucleus of the parochial system which later in the second century became organized with church funds dispensed by specially designated officials.

St. Gregory in the Sixth Century reorganized this system of the early church. He set up ecclesiastical regions later known as dioceses, into which were grouped adjacent parishes. The function of these divisions was largely the dispensing of charity. Each was placed in charge of an archdeacon who directed the deacon, who, in turn, cared for the poor, the widow, orphans, and old people. A registry was kept of those regularly receiving aid, and the deacon was obliged to see that none strayed into other parishes. In each district there was a hospital or an office for alms, where food was given out and the sick and the homeless poor were maintained, including the orphan and foundling child. In addition to this parochial system of relief, high dignitaries of the church, such as the Pope, were accustomed to separate a portion of their meals before partaking of them, and to send the food out to the hungry at their door. These channels of giving to the poor in the early Church gave direction to the charity of the Middle Ages. This parochial system extends into our own time and is known as such in the Catholic church, the Church of England, and the Episcopal church. The other churches practice this idea of fellowship within their membership. Today, as in the past, the Christian church, for the most part, is taking the responsibility for the care of the suffering members of its respective congregations. When it interprets this fellowship to include the city, the state, and the nation it becomes a mighty social force.

With the expansion of the Christian church to the limits of the Roman Empire came growth in adherents and

a corresponding development of organization and teaching. Much of the spirit of the early days became stereotyped into fixed patterns of conduct. Personal service for the fellow Christian in distress was supplanted by institutions and indiscriminate alms-giving. The restoration of the power of the individual was no longer the end sought. The sufferer was the means to an end, that end being security for the benefactor in the next world. Charity purchased for its dispenser definite rewards, such as immunity from punishment for evil deeds committed in this world. Other worldliness absorbed the mind of the Christian of the early ages, and alms to the poor represented a form of insurance against the torments of hell. "Give to the poor," said St. Peter Chrysologus, "that you may give to yourself. Give him a crumb in order to receive a loaf. Give him a shelter to receive Heaven." No less a saint than Augustine said, "Alms have power to extinguish and expiate sin."

In the Seventh Century canons of Penitence were adopted wherein redemption from sin was promised in payment of private property to the church. This represented sacrifice. It held the semblance of virtue and the church became the trustee of great riches, a large share of which was for the succor of the poor. In addition to these expiatory gifts, in the time of Charlemagne, church tithes were imposed in order to provide for the relief of the poor in their homes.

The rise and growth of monasteries encroached upon the older parochial charity, for each mission monastery became a center of relief. With indiscriminate alms dispensed at the monastery gate, there was no concern for the individual need. Little personal service, prompted by sympathetic understanding and sense of fellowship, was rendered to the individual as was the case in the

earlier parochial system. The parochial idea was, so to speak, an enlargement of the family idea. Brotherhood because of the Fatherhood of God inspired its care of the weaker members. The monastic idea was based on the idea of the evil in matter, so there was no interest in the improvement of society itself. Monks and nuns fled from the world, regarding it as unmitigated evil. The system tolerated the family as an indispensable human institution, but did nothing to foster family life because it regarded marriage as a lower form of morality than celibacy. It elevated voluntary poverty to a virtue, and involuntary poverty it considered as an irretrievable, fixed state. Therefore its charity only served to maintain human beings in their wretched condition. Monasteries established numerous hospitals and homes for the aged. But its care for the sick because of the unprogressive character of medieval medicine did not necessarily mean restoration of physical powers.

Little children were generally neglected in this harsh age, so the compassion was notable which inspired the Archbishop of Milan in the Eighth Century to provide a refuge for homeless and abandoned children. This represents the first Christian institution dedicated solely to child care. Centralized, depersonalized forms of charity prevailed until the modern period and may be characterized as static. However, here and there may be found evidence of the dynamic spirit, the essence of the Christian religion, stirring within the church. Devoted members of religious orders and lay associates rendered self-effacing service in behalf of individual men and women in distress.

When the voice of St. Francis of Assisi in the Twelfth Century was heard from the Umbrian hills calling the church back to its Master's life of service, it won for him

a band of devoted followers. St. Francis, passing by the regular and secular clergy, led his lay associates to a life with the poor. He set a renewed value on the individual. He and his followers took up their abode with the poor in their homes and with yearning love sought to release their powers from the shackles of human wretchedness. He made real the ideal of Christianity and revived it as a social force. Later this revived spirit was restrained, and for the most part quenched, by having its activity crystallized into groups of so-called good works. St. Thomas Aquinas clothed it in theological doctrine. To I clothe, I give, I feed, I free from prison, I shelter, I assist in sickness was attached a corresponding boon which availed the doer in after life. Thus charity was linked to the scheme of indulgences with no social aim or purpose.

In France in the Seventeenth Century another renaissance came to the church in the person of St. Vincent de Paul. Appalled by the trafficking in human misery, when he witnessed a beggar mutilating a little child in order to excite pity, he organized the Sisters of Charity. When he called upon his congregation to practice Christian fellowship in behalf of a family in distress, and found that only gifts of food and money had been bestowed, he organized the laity to render personal service. This parochial organization, known as the St. Vincent de Paul Society, is strong today in the Catholic Church, and gives evidence of a Christian life expressing itself in selfless acts of sympathetic understanding in behalf of the poor.

On the whole, however, the Christian church, identified for the most part with the state throughout the Western world, increased pauperism and human misery because of its impersonal almsgiving. Economists have traced the gigantic development of mendicancy in Italy to the excessive charity of the people, fostered by the Church.

England, from which we have obtained through the colonial settlers most of the laws and customs of our country, suffered in the same manner. There today the Church of England is still obliged to administer ancient charity foundations which mean nothing for human welfare. Churchmen of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries, uneasy in their anticipation of the future world, conferred large sums of money upon the Church, and dictated trifling methods of bestowal to the poor. Some of these legacies are more picturesque than serviceable: when, for instance, twelve old women attend a service on All Souls Day, originally intended for prayer on behalf of the donor's departed soul, they are presented with a white wheaten loaf, a frock of frieze, and a red flannel petticoat. Effort, not largely successful, has been made by modern charity commissioners to divert these ancient benefactions to more useful ends.

The best charitable assistance of the Sixteenth Century in England for the aged was the almshouse, which with the exception of doles, formed the most numerous bequests. Today may be seen some of these Sixteenth Century foundations so adequately provided with funds that the best physical and social care can be given. When this takes the form of private cottages for aged couples, furnished with housekeeping facilities and nursing care, it seems as if sympathetic understanding of the needs of old people had dictated this charity rather than the desire to purchase salvation for the donor.

Charitable relief for the able-bodied became such a demoralizing factor in the increase of professional beggars it presented a plausible excuse to Henry VIII to bring about the dissolution of the monasteries, and to sequestrate the rich holdings for his court favorites. One-fifth of the land was transferred to the nobles. Poor

tenants were evicted and lavish alms-giving came to an end. The nobles were expected to take over the care of the needy who had been regularly dependent upon the monasteries, but they did not do so. Wretchedness and poverty increased in greater proportions than ever before. Something had to be done, so the state stepped into the breach.

State Relief

The first English Poor Law in 1536 marks the transition from Church to secular poor relief, and the nation thereby assumes responsibility for the destitute. Timid in its measures for the impotent and sick, harsh in its treatment of the sturdy vagabond, nevertheless, this law is a symptom of momentous change at work in society. This change means nothing more nor less than the break-up of the ancient social order.

Chapter III

BACKGROUNDS OF SOCIAL WORK (*Continued*)

Modern Pathways

The simplicity of the social order of the Middle Ages gave way to the growing complexity of modern social life. In the old days, before custom was challenged, society with its fixed classes of lord and serf had defined human relations. There was no question of status, for one was born to power or to servitude. A Church of England minister of the Eighteenth Century expressed for this time, as well as for his own, the fixation of class idea and its traditional relations of rich and poor in these words: "Is it not the infinite God that hath made some rich and great and appointed the poor and needy to work day and night for their service?"[25]

Early Struggle for Human Rights

A parallel movement of greater significance to modern social work than the bestowal of charity is the struggle for human rights. In England during the Fourteenth Century society was stirred by ferments, which finally broke through the crust of custom. Great political and economic changes which usher in the present age of liberty find an early expression in this period. They challenge the attention of those who would understand social progress.

The plague known as the Black Death devastated the population of England in 1348. While it was no discriminater of classes, it naturally took a larger death toll

from the workers and thereby produced a shortage of labor. This gave an unaccustomed advantage to the laborer. When, in addition, he became free from servitude because of the extinction of his lord's family, he gained a freedom hitherto unknown. It meant that no longer was he forced to work at the accustomed task; he was free to choose his work, his master, and his home. The fact was that many chose not to work and many chose not to have a home. Society underwent a momentous transition from a protective system wherein existed reciprocal obligations of master and serf, to that of a contract system between employer and employee, between landlord and tenant. The sudden loosening of age-old ties precipitated the wage system, the rent system, and many other new conditions. The stolid mind of the rural laborer awakened from its inert acceptance of the old order, and voiced a new idea in such doggerels as this: "When Adam delved and Eve span, who was then the gentleman?" This unrest was seized upon by leaders and The Peasants' Rebellion became the first organized struggle for human rights in England. Government came to the rescue of the troubled landholder whose acres had been left untilled. The Statute of Laborers of 1351 and 1353 made labor compulsory, punished refusal to work, regulated wages, and prevented labor from moving out of the county. The amounts for which men toiled in those days are set forth in the table shown on page 48, and the comparative rate with and without diet give some idea of the purchasable power of pence in regard to food.

Social unrest proclaimed itself not only in new demands from labor, but in an irresponsible mode of life. The man who was temperamentally unstable and who found himself no longer held to the land or to the job betook himself to a wandering life. The dole handed out at the

STATUTE OF LABORERS, 1350, EDWARD III[26]

	Wages from Easter to Michaelmas.	Wages from Michaelmas to Easter.
A free mason		
A master carpenter		
A rough mason	With diet 4 d.	With diet 3 d.
A brick layer		
A master tiler	Without diet 6 d.	Without diet 5 d.
A plumber		
A glazier		
A carver		
A joiner		
Other laborers	With diet 2 d.	With diet 1½ d.
except in harvest	Without diet 4 d.	Without diet 3 d.
Master carpenters and masons	With diet 5 d.	
having under them six men	Without diet 7 d.	

monastery gate or flung to the roadside by the traveler supplied bodily sustenance. The bolder ones took the next step in deterioration and forcibly relieved the traveler of his substance. This growing instability of society brought down greater condemnation than ever on lavish almsgiving and we have additional light on the dissolution of monasteries and the Poor Law of 1536. When Queen Elizabeth came to the throne she found that the law was not working well. Harsh as its treatment had been to the vagabonds, it had not controlled them, hence she caused its revision in an act known as the Elizabethan Poor Law. Later the American colonists embodied its provisions, its spirit, and its language in the Poor Laws of America. Its outstanding features were:

1. That able-bodied persons refusing to work be put to hard labor in a House of Correction.
2. That the impotent should be placed in almshouses.
3. That dependent children should be bound out.

It is plain that this law reflected no national concern for human welfare. It was an economic device to enforce

child self-support and adult self-support. Funds for the administration of the first poor law had come from voluntary church offerings, but the Elizabethan Poor Law exacted contribution from every citizen to provide for the poor by a tax enforced by local administration under Overseers of the Poor. While this manner of providing for the weaker members of society was harsh and was dictated from a desire for self-protection, it marks a step forward in recognition of the responsibility of the state for its people. Queen Elizabeth was strong for control and she carried the idea to extremes. Not satisfied with the punitive effect of the Poor Law which inflicted many different kinds of punishment on the idle rural laborer, she co-operated with the town employer to restrict the freedom of his labor supply by additional legislation. In the towns the crafts and trading organizations had gone through a considerable change. The status of journeymen had become for the most part distinct and they emerge as a separate laboring class for, due to various social causes, the journeymen no longer had the prospect of promotion to mastership. The Statute of Apprentices in 1562 sought much the same control over artisans that the earlier statute exerted over laborers. Labor was made compulsory, and every person was ordered to follow a definite pursuit. Excepting persons owning property, persons of gentle birth, and scholars, every one must needs choose between the sea, the crafts, and agriculture. Freedom of movement was likewise curtailed. No person might leave the town or parish in which he had been employed unless he obtained a formal testimonial from appropriate authorities. Wage fixing was included. "The clauses were not intended to guarantee an improvement in the relative well being of the artizan, but to protect him in his existing state against the unfavorable

effects of the price revolution."[27] Justices of the peace were instructed to determine the rate of wages at a yearly meeting for each locality. The law required a seven-year apprenticeship and established a working day of twelve hours in summer and during daylight in winter. By the statute, all relations between master and journeymen were regulated by the government instead of by the craft guilds. This notable embodiment of a social attitude toward labor remained on the Statute Books until 1813, over two centuries.

Social and Economic Changes

In spite of these laws poverty increased in Merrie England. In addition to the chronic poverty of the Middle Ages, these measures provoked friction and maladjustment. The situation became grave as rents and prices rose in advance of wages. In many parts of the country work had become scarce because of the change in the use of land from agriculture to the rearing of sheep, from plough land to pasture land. This change also brought about the enclosure of common lands. While it added picturesque hedges to the landscape, it deprived the laborer of a customary usage which represented free feeding for his livestock. This privilege, together with that of fuel gathering, had provided a substantial addition to his living. Now that it was cut off for the most part, destitution and misery increased. As time went on centers of manufacture and trade shifted, leaving behind a large number of unemployed. They were unemployed because of inability to change over to a different kind of job or because of a scarcity of jobs. Private charity in the form of gifts or bequests made ineffectual efforts to provide work for the unemployed and relief of the poor. These attempts were never adequate because the extent

of poverty was never measured, owing to the lack of understanding of the causes and to the cooling of the charitable fervor itself by the underlying thought that, "This much in truth I speak, that if anie be pinched with penurie, the default especially resteth in themselves though some other persons cannot be excused."[28]

The Protestant Reformation affected charity funds by diminishing them. The stern non-conformists considered, "This a great gain, for abundance of means is the greatest danger of all in the relief of the poor."[29] To be sure, this is true if charity is bestowed indiscriminately without knowledge of the individual need. That this righteous justification of niggardly provision for the poor did not restrict everyone is evident in the epitaph to the wife of Abraham Colfe, Curate of Lewisham in 1650. "She had been above forty years a willing nurse, midwife, surgeon, and in part physician to all both riche and poore without expecting reward."[30] Colfe himself left a considerable part of his estate for almshouses. Each of these was planned for five persons. They were strongly built of flint and brick, each one furnished with a chimney and a garden plot. The inmates were each provided with a small pension, they were over three score years of age, past their bodily labor, able to say the Lord's Prayer, the Belief, and the Ten Commandments. This benefactor insured their respectable status, further, by ordering that they dress in black gowns. Colfe also provided schools, one of which was for the free teaching of 31 poor men's children.[31]

Poverty was at some times worse than at others, and chroniclers of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries cite changes in public and private schemes to cope with the problem. One of the most significant was the Settlement Act added to the Poor Law in 1662. It restricted

relief to those who resided in the parish. This represented a further governmental effort to stabilize the labor supply. If the laboring man wandered out of his home parish, and penniless old age overtook him, he would have no claim to public aid. This harsh regulation has been perpetuated in American poor laws of today. The different states have set varying periods of time in which may be acquired the right of settlement whereby the individual may be eligible for public relief.

The Beginnings of the Modern Era

In the latter part of the Eighteenth Century the world stage was set with rapidly changing scenes. Vigor of body and of mind were necessary if men and women were to be successful in adapting themselves to new rôles in the drama of life. Society underwent even greater change than during the Fourteenth Century. The Industrial Revolution, agricultural changes, political upheavals, and intellectual movements surged in on existing conditions, and swept away the old to make room for the new.

The Industrial Revolution and Human Needs

The application of steam to manufacture took production for the market out of the home. It called for large scale machinery which could only be purchased by wealth, individual or combined. Today in America a large telephone system makes the statement that it has invested $6000 in tools and equipment for every employee.[32]

This caused the decay of home industry and broke down the custom of joint family production. It deprived the worker of his independence in production. For the first time in the history of man he ceases to command the tools with which he works. He does not own his tools, neither does he select them, nor can he say how he shall

use them. In large scale production he becomes a part of the machinery, and is without voice in management of production. The machine, to be profitably operated, must work long hours and requires a large army of operators. Available man supply was insufficient at first so women and children were employed both in England and in this country. Families were obliged to abandon their homes in small towns and villages, where hitherto cottage industry had supported them. They moved into cities where the factories were located. These sudden aggregations of peoples found indifferent housing accommodation, insufficient water-supply, and inadequate drainage. Soon overcrowding, poor sanitation, augmented by the strain of overwork, low wages, broken family ties, created the evils of modern city life. Wages were so low that parents were forced to place little children six and eight years old at work in the factories to increase the family income. A study of living conditions in England in 1844 reported that the wages of unskilled laborers were from $3.00 to $3.75 a week. Skilled carpenters and masons received $4.50, while skilled factory workers sometimes earned $5.00 per week. Women mill workers earned $2.00 a week.[33] Periods of unemployment were frequent, and for these barren stretches it was impossible to save out of a wage never equal to meet the high price of necessities. Bread cost more than in 1910; sugar cost twice, and tea three, times as much. Even when regularly employed the common people seldom had meat and their diet of bread, turnips, and potatoes was of poor quality and insufficient in amount. The hard-working, industrious people, not the wasters and the incompetent, led a pinched, sordid existence without diversion or education. This represented the life of the majority of the population of England.[34]

In order to enlarge the labor supply, dependent children were bound over by the overseers of the poor to factory owners. In great numbers they were sent to the cotton mills and into the mines. Bleak bare dwellings represented home to them where they slept in bunks, one shift taking the beds of the others after a twelve-hour day or night spent in toil. No regular meals were provided, food was snatched while at work. These children received no education and were given no time for play.

In the mines toil was even more degraded, for there in the dark, dank pits women and children did the work of animals. On all fours they hauled heavy carloads of coal along the narrow, airless passages to the mouth, where they changed their loads to their backs and mounted the ladders. On reaching the air and light they often fell prostrated from exhaustion and chill.

Little wonder was it that Mrs. Browning, the sensitive poet, wrote at this time, "The Cry of the Children," and Thomas Hood wrote, "The Song of the Shirt."

Change in Agricultural Life

Science improved production on the farm as suddenly as in the mill, and thereby interfered with the established character of rural life. Small holdings were forced to compete with consolidated farms which were operated with better fertilizers, drainage, and stock. Wages paid on these large farms were too low for families to sustain existence—$2.00 to $2.50 was a week's wage for laborers, while women field workers received from 15 to 20 cents a day. This wage could not buy the necessities of life, and when there was no work, the condition of the agricultural laborer was worse than that of the town laborer.[35]

In addition to the poverty of the toiler, the country districts were confronted with the destitution of numbers

of men and women who, on account of these changes in working conditions, were physically unable to change their habits of life to fit into the new ways. Amendments were made to the ineffectual Poor Law. One of these was taken from an experiment which had been made in one shire where an addition was made to the laborer's wage from the poor rates. Payment was to be in proportion to the price of bread and to the size of the workingman's family. For example, "A man with a wife and 3 children should receive 9 shillings a week when bread was at its average price. Whatever his wages lacked of this amount should be paid to him by the authorities."[36] This scheme was projected from unsound social and economic ideas. It took for granted that wages could not be sufficient to support a man and his family. It made a pauper of the workingman and affected his social status by putting him on the poor rate. It gave him no opportunity to provide for a decent old age, nor by this system were fathers responsible for the support of their children. It placed a premium upon illegitimate children, for the larger the number of children arrayed before the authorities so much greater the subsidy. It tempted the employer to lower wages to all employees, for he knew that the lack would be made up to those who appealed for aid. It broke with the past tradition of the Poor Law that relief should not be given to the able bodied or in the homes of the poor. In fact, the change in the Poor Law was significant of the spirit of the age. It registered a fear of the growing consciousness of social injustice which was stimulated by the new doctrine of equality, liberty, fraternity sounding across the water from the French Revolution. It befogged public thinking and delayed the day of scientific determination of wages on the basis of the workingman's needs.

Chapter IV

SOCIAL WORK AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

Modern social work is a natural outcome of scientific, economic, and political development. In England it emerged from ancient charity first. In order to appreciate the origins of its work in seeking to secure and to safeguard human rights we must continue to identify it with the history of social progress in England. England at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century presented a condition of social deterioration. Never were poverty and human misery more wide-spread. The conflict of the old ideas with the new, the difficulty of adjustment to different methods of production, the estranged relationships between employer and employee, all contributed to the breakdown of the social system. To meet the new conditions of an industrial civilization, and to wrest human values from a machine age, was the challenge to modern society.

Organized Help

Can we look for leadership to groups who have evinced sympathy with human suffering in the past? The Established Church has, for the most part, been bound by the old static attitude toward poverty. It believed that poverty was an inevitable state, and that it was the result of personal misdemeanor. It also upheld the idea of fixed social classes. Its paltry schemes of relief, principally soup and thrift, were seasoned with moral instruction. The Church did not conceive the possibility of

change in social conditions. Neither did it want to change the social status of the poor. It took cautious steps to give the children of the poor what it considered appropriate education. Charity schools became numerous where training was given "to become useful servants and by their honesty and intelligence prove great blessings to the rich, who want such serviceable instruments to make their lives happy and pleasing."[37] Later, in response to criticism, they developed into "a philanthropic device of employing cheap child labor. . . . These became associated with the work houses and the policy of finding wage labor for the children assumed the leading aspect."[38]

The Quaker religion furnished notable leadership to secure humane treatment for the derelicts of society. Oglethorpe founded his colony in Georgia for the reformation of prisoners, after a systematic inquiry into the condition of prisons. Elizabeth Fry worked for prison reform and members of the Society of Friends joined with other philanthropists in agitation for the abolition of slavery. This group also worked to secure humane treatment of the insane, in separate institutions.

Early Use of the Scientific Method

The father of prison reform was one John Howard, a sheriff of Bedfordshire, who took his duties seriously. He was the forerunner of the modern social worker in that he was one of the first to employ the tools which science placed in the hands of those who dared to proclaim the truth about social conditions. He became impatient with the paltry cheapness of traditional charity, such as the pity of St. John's College which gave bread every Sunday to the prisoners at Cambridge. He was contemptuous of the benevolence of the gentleman who magnificently bestowed 36 rugs and coverlets for the prisoners at Reading,

which promptly wore out. He did not stop to rectify abuses, for he discovered that diagnosis must precede cure of intolerable conditions in the prisons. He carried on a protracted, accurate inquiry. He measured the cells, tasted the food, smelt the filth, saw the fever victims, and noted down what he learned. He did not rest until he published his findings. These aroused public opinion to his support and finally convinced the state of its responsibility to provide the decencies of life for those whom it deprived of freedom. A new theory of social responsibility was embodied in the law of the land. This act did not bring about humane treatment in prisons, for that has not yet been achieved. It waits upon a heightened human sensibility. However, the scientific effort of Howard started improvement and marked the change from the old to the new method. It emphasized the inadequacy of sympathy alone to effectually help human distress. Sympathy furnished a warmth, but without the light of knowledge it could not cope adequately with the complexities of human trouble. Furthermore, it had to become intensified to a burning desire for justice before it carried conviction of the need of social change. The use of the scientific method of measurement of real conditions was given emphasis, by the first census taking in England in 1800. "This was the first official recognition of the duty of the State to know the vital, cultural, and economic conditions of the whole nation."[39]

The scientific spirit gained adherents and became organized thirty years later, when the English Statistical Society was founded. The object was to obtain information of the physical and moral condition of populations in city neighborhoods. This survey defined the problem. It revealed the nature and extent of distress and exposed

the causes of this distress. Systematic inquiry showed that poverty, sickness, crime, and other social ills were not isolated conditions; they were interrelated. Man did not stand alone, neither did he rise or fall solely by his own efforts. The delinquent was the last link in a long chain of social events. It took many years, however, to impress these findings on the thought of the Nineteenth Century.

The Individual for Himself

We discover that intellectual trends of the Eighteenth Century had been working out into practical programs of revolt against traditional forms of governmental control. The right of the State to meticulously regulate commerce, wages, hours, industry, and agriculture was challenged. This belief became formulated into the theory known as the laissez faire. It dominated thought and regulated action in the early part of the Nineteenth Century. It expressed the awakened desire for liberty and impatience of interference with personal freedom. It asserted that man possessed the natural right to do as he chose, so far as such freedom was practicable. In the economic world this is understood to mean free competition in earning a living, with no responsibility for others. The trouble with this belief then, and today, for it is still held in high circles, was that

1. It assumes equality of capacity.
2. It assumes equality of opportunity.
3. It, therefore, provides no umpire to see fair play between unequally endowed participants in the competitive game of life.
4. It provides no service to help the disadvantaged to overcome his handicap.

The boy with no education, the man with no skill, the

widow with little children, are forced to take any job at any pay that offers. Besides these, there is the great army of physically and mentally handicapped who must compete with the vigorous of mind and body. This so-called individual freedom of competition was in reality an individual freedom to perish. According to this individualistic theory of life, every man stands alone, and is unaffected by the acts of his fellows. The powerful and strong seek what they consider their best interests, and the weak fall down before them. It was held that, "When each person was freely seeking his own interests he is doing the best for himself and for all."[40] They did not see that this was destructive to society itself; they did not know that members deprived of essential elements of welfare present in the body social, foci of physical, mental, and moral infection. These infections are no discriminators of persons. Encouraged by this individualistic idea, the practice of unrestrained competition in England and in America in the first part of the Nineteenth Century meant unlimited exploitation of the weak by the strong.

The New Social Justice

It is evident that new proposals for the extension of government control to protect women and children in industry were in conflict with the spirit of the age, and therefore doomed to unpopularity. Lord Shaftsbury and his group of social reformers possessed a vision that pierced through the complacency of the laissez faire theory and exposed its destructive character. They saw that it permitted society to become a jungle with all fences down, where greed devoured defenseless men, women, and children. They insisted that government must set up and enforce certain minimum standards for

protection of groups who were not fitted to choose means and manners of livelihood. Finally in 1802 tireless effort secured passage of The Health and Morals Act to Regulate the Labor of Bound Children in Cotton Factories. This prohibited children younger than nine to be bound out to factory labor. It restricted the work period to twelve hours a day, forbade night work, forced the employer to provide them with one new suit of clothing a year and instruction in English. Thirty years later the law was extended to include children who were living with parents. In 1833 an eight-hour day was adopted for children from nine to thirteen years of age and a twelve-hour day for those between thirteen and eighteen years of age. A notable step was taken in this amendment by providing factory inspectors to enforce its provisions. The state had found that mechanisms for human welfare did not work automatically. Personal service had to give living expression to the rules of the game, even if that service was police in character.

Concurrently, legislation was enacted to regulate conditions of labor of women and children in mines, until by the middle of the century in most industries the prohibited working age was raised to nine. For both women and children a normal working day of ten hours was adopted.

Social Action for Public Health

With this revived recognition of the need of governmental control came the demand for sanitary regulation. An array of facts concerning city life had been supplied by the statistical studies which had measured the extent of human suffering and had revealed some of its causes. The Royal Commission of Health of Towns drew up a Public Health Bill which was passed in 1845. That it

had an enormous task before it, and that it took a long time to effect an improvement in conditions, is illustrated by the description of Bermondsey district in London in 1860. "It was a large swamp where a number of people lived in houses built upon piles. . . . So bad was the supply of water there that I have positively seen the women drop their buckets into the water over which they were living, and into which was deposited all the filth of the place, this being the only water for washing and drinking."[41]

The spirit of personal service was breathed into this new regulation of health by Florence Nightingale. Her heroic nursing during the Crimean War aroused such enthusiasm in England that upon her triumphant return she was recognized as an authority in sanitary reform. She raised the nurse from Dickens' Sairy Gamp type to a scientifically trained humane person. She also started a health crusade; she trained teacher nurses to visit homes and advise families on cleanliness, ventilation, drainage, and personal hygiene. The public health nurse, as known today, came into being in the latter part of the Nineteenth Century.

On the Continent in Geneva Henri Dinant was organizing the Red Cross with fourteen European countries, which agreed to render succor to the wounded in battle without distinction of nationality. This service, which has become world wide, has followed the course of Florence Nightingale. Today it also works for peace in promoting public and social health.

Public Relief

Social progress was not uniform in all departments of life. Certain ugly maladjustments inherited from the past century became more distorted and unfit to cope with

the social situation. The Poor Law was an inadequate piece of mechanism which broke down under its abuse as a subsidizing agency of industry. Comment has been made upon its pauperizing effect upon the working man and the corresponding burden which it thrust upon the taxpayer.

The prevalent laissez faire theory and the individualistic idea that each man should be made to depend upon himself alone, brought about a reform of the Poor Law in 1834. This was a natural reaction from previous abuses. If there had been a scientific determination of what was involved in making the individual fit to help himself, the new policy would not have been such a failure. Because there was no understanding of what a man needs to become self-supporting, in the way of health, education, vocational opportunity; because there was no conception of the destructive effect of certain social conditions, such as congestion, low wages, long hours, its policy was only that of niggardly relief. Its effect was like teaching thrift to the poor who have no income with which to be thrifty. It sought to reduce the number of the recipients of relief by making their lot as unattractive as possible. This was accomplished by furnishing no relief except in work houses where the atmosphere was cold and repellant. "The 'ouse," as the workhouse was called, became the Nemesis of the underpaid working man. The nightmare of an old age doomed to end its days in the public workhouse was so hideous that it forced the working man to tackle the problem himself.

Robert Owen, an enlightened manufacturer, had worked out schemes of co-operative communities in protest against the prevalent policy of self-interest and unrestricted competition. These had come to birth before their time, so

opposition doomed them to failure, but his idea lived. The co-operative movement, today numbering scores of co-operative societies in England, owes its initiation to 28 flannel weavers. In the village of Rochdale they opened a store in Toad Lane, where they sold flour, oatmeal, and other groceries procured from a working capital of one pound, laboriously saved by each member. The scheme was, "Sale of goods at regular market prices, division of profits to members at regular quarterly intervals, in proportion to purchases, subscription to capital in installments by members, and payment of 5 per cent. interest on this capital."[42]

The European continent had also developed co-operative societies which counted materially in the social life of the people. The United States has profited from these examples. While the movement is growing, co-operative societies with us have not attained the important position which they hold abroad. About this time in England the working man developed group consciousness. The organization of trade unions for self-defense and self-advancement in regard to conditions of labor became prominent.

Private Charity

The withdrawal of all relief from the poor in their homes brought private charity to the rescue of the unfit. It burgeoned forth into such a multiplicity of organizations, that duplication and overlapping put a premium on begging. These philanthropists did not concern themselves with social reform, but spent their energy in taking care of present woes. They erected numerous asylums which were serviceable. These institutions, however, carried on without any scientific inquiry into the causes which brought so many inmates to their doors, did not bring about a decrease of sufferers.

A pioneer who departed from traditional private charity was one Thomas Chalmers, a minister of the Scottish Church. He revived the parochial system of the early church and applied it to the condition of a Nineteenth Century Glasgow congregation. He divided his parish into twenty-five districts, embracing 60 to 100 families, over each of which an elder and a deacon were appointed. These were responsible for the spiritual and physical needs of the families. Chalmers personally visited all of them. He devised a system of investigation of the individual need by the deacons, and a conference committee to decide on a social plan to meet that need. The plan worked so well that it presented a model form of church relief. Furthermore, it inspired the organization of voluntary agencies upon the sound basis of accurate knowledge and competent direction of personal service.

The Right to Education

Exclusive of this notable contribution, private charity displayed the inefficiency of its confusion. Adherents became impatient with it as a means of helping the poor, and they turned to educational reform.

Switzerland and Prussia on the continent had led in recognizing the right of every child to receive education. Their state educational systems had been extended to provide general education to the poor. England gradually worked its way out from the idea that education was the task of the Church, first by sharing the responsibility with the Church, and finally adopting the idea that the State should be substituted for the Church as the educational agency. The United States felt the influence of foreign educational idea and method, and its public educational system became a democratic institution.

Scientific Philanthropy; Beginnings of Modern Social Work

In 1836 a young Church of England vicar, Samuel Barnett, took his wife to live in the rectory of an East London parish. This was located in a slum district seething with poverty, crime, and misery. He found himself the object of mendacious assault when he refused to bestow bread tickets to a crowd of from 60 to 100 persons who gathered before the vicarage every wintry day. He refused because he regarded the customary church dole "a rotten rope thrown to a drowning man because it creates hope which no ticket system can ever realize and makes the person who gives them think he is satisfying the needs of the poor, whilst he is only increasing their shiftless dependence."[43]

The intelligent and heroic efforts of both Canon and Mrs. Barnett, together with Octavia Hill, constructed, out of a chaos of giving, an ordered scientific method. The London Charity Organization Society was organized in 1869.[44] It was not long after this that the United States made use of this method of social case work. The Buffalo Charity Organization Society started in 1877; the New York Charity Organization Society in 1882; and today there are over 200 Family Welfare Societies, the new name for Charity Organization Societies.

Not satisfied with organizing systematic help appropriate to the individual and to the family, the Barnetts and their co-workers pressed on with unflagging zeal. They brought about improvement of some of those social conditions which the study of the individual revealed as major factors of breakdown. Rotten tenements were demolished; crooked lanes and dark courts gave way to broad, light streets; recreational facilities were substituted

for haunts of vice; the life of the poor was enriched by bringing music and art to East London, while vacations took the poor to the hills and to the sea.

The Settlement Movement

Canon Barnett from the first had identified himself with the local schools of his district. He saw the need of educational facilities for adults as well as children. He was very conscious of the gulf which existed between the cultured groups and the laboring groups of men. He decided it would enrich the life of both if each came to know the other. He therefore went down to Oxford and presented to the undergraduate his duty to study social problems at first hand. He discovered about 100 men of liberal thought, who came to live in his London parish from time to time.

"A few men with their own bread to earn, with their own lives to enjoy, with their own sense of social debt, came to live together. No one surrenders what he has found to be good for his own growth, each man pursues his own vocation and keeps the environment of a cultured life. There is no affectation of equality with neighbors by the adoption of mean or dirty habits. There is no appearance of self sacrifice. The men live their own life in White Chapel instead of in West London, and do—what is required of every citizen—a citizen's duties in their own neighborhood."[45]

This was the beginning of the settlement movement. Arnold Toynbee became a leader in this group. He returned to Oxford and said, "That the wealth of England means only wealth in England. . . . The masses of the people live without knowledge, without hope, and often without help."[46] He secured recruits and in 1883 Toynbee Hall became the first English settlement house. This was the inspiration of our own Hull House of Chicago under Jane Addams. The late Robert A. Woods, founder of

South End House of Boston, was some time resident of Toynbee Hall. The Neighborhood Guild of New York City, now known as The University Settlement Society, was another leader in this movement.

After the middle of the Nineteenth Century public relief began to apply science to the problem of poverty. On both sides of the Atlantic, in institutions, medicine was taking the place of neglect and education was taking the place of idle ignorance.

The 1860's gave a Metropolitan Board of Health to New York City, and great increase in the building of general hospitals. Bellevue Hospital, which in early days had housed indiscriminately imbeciles, lunatics, vagrants, old and young, sick and well, developed a modern hospital system. The first ambulance service started in 1869, and the first training school for nurses in New York City a few years later. Until this time the nursing of the sick poor had been done by workhouse inmates. State boards of charities and corrections had been organized to supply intelligent supervision over local institutions and individuals. In 1870 the National Prison Conference held its first meeting, this was followed in four years by the first National Conference of Charities and Corrections.

Prevention vs. Cure

Early in the Twentieth Century liberal groups in England agitated for a thoroughgoing revision of the Poor Law. Its moral philosophy and niggardly policy had become discredited as an adequate instrument to discharge the nation's obligation to the poor. In spite of increase in national wealth and industrial development it is doubtful if modern civilization had actually improved the condition of the masses in England.

A social philosophy gradually superseded the old individualistic philosophy of the Eighteenth Century, and the idea of control over conditions of life began to take the place of the laissez faire theory. The idea that poverty, sickness, and distress could be overcome by individual exertion gave way to a belief that these evils could be largely overcome through the action of government. The theory that the state should not wait for destitution to reduce the powers of the individual was generally accepted. It was embodied in acts providing for the conservation of the powers of the individual.

Old age pensions, national insurance against sickness and unemployment, factory acts improving conditions of labor, minimum wage boards, measures providing for the special welfare of children, were passed. This testified to an entire change in thought, in motive, and in action on the part of a great nation in behalf of its less favored population. It recognized the right of the individual for self-development and his dependence for that development upon society. It recognized its obligation to insure to the individual this degree of opportunity.

In the United States social concern has chiefly taken the form of social work under private auspices. The individualism of America has stamped its mark on an extensive development of social work, and while it has delayed the growth of public social services it has permitted a wide range of experimentation which has produced variety.

The application of social case work to various phases of human distress is typical. At first it was confined to the Charity Organization movement where it came into being, and it was limited in scope because of the meager amount of knowledge of psychology, of medicine, of social economy which was available to the social worker of the

latter part of the Nineteenth Century. More emphasis was placed on the avoidance of duplication and overlapping of relief giving than upon providing adequate relief, because there was no scientific determination of adequate relief or a measurement of the cost of a wholesome standard of living. Gradually there has emerged the larger purpose of social case work. Its present-day dedication to helping human personality to develop and to improving social conditions has been made possible through the application to human welfare of a vast amount of scientific knowledge.

The past twenty-five years has witnessed an extraordinary development of so-called scientific philanthropy into the recognized profession of social work. A philosophy, a code of ethics, and a technic are taking form; these are being taught in professional schools and are equipping an increasing number of personnel, qualified as never before, to aid human distress.

Social work has become specialized to a marked degree. Community organization, institutional work, social research, share with case work the great task of increasing human welfare. Social case work has extended outside its original field of general family welfare into the specialized fields of medicine, including psychiatry, and of industry, education, delinquency, and child protection.

During the last fifteen years there has been a noticeable increase of public social services, for public opinion is gradually coming to recognize the nature and extent of the social problem.

While these appear to be immeasurable gains made by society, social work is not satisfied to rest on present-day achievement. In addition to its community work, its family social work, its research must be devoted to the study of prevention. Therefore, in its work with the indi-

vidual and the group it must increasingly treat the problem as a symptom of social evils. These social evils are affecting 90 per cent. of the population who do not come to the attention of the social agency. To help make society fit for every individual is the goal of the social worker of the Twentieth Century.

Chapter V

THE ANCIENT AND THE MODERN IN PRESENT-DAY PRACTICE

This is a family problem taken from the records of The Family Welfare Society in the city of D——.

This small city of D—— is typical of the eastern part of the United States. The factories of the Nineteenth Century had submerged the landmarks of the Eighteenth Century. The heroic traditions of the past had become unknown to the new population of 90,000, except to that small remaining number of native families whose roots were in the city's history. These old families cherished the patriotism of colonial and revolutionary ancestors chiefly for its aristocratic value. They did not see in the industrial revolution, which had changed the character of their city, an opportunity for assimilating new elements which might enrich its life. Social life was marked by aloofness. The one-time neighborliness gave way before the sudden increase of population of strange folk. New neighbors were held in disdain because of difference in thought and custom. Social groups became stratified and there was practically no cross connection between them. Social relations lagged behind industrial and economic relations and this out-of-step pace of city life neglected human values. There was no understanding of the life of other groups in the city. Spasmodic attempts to bestow charity on isolated cases of distress did nothing to bridge the gap, but they satisfied the benevolent aspiration of advantaged groups often organized into social clubs and societies.

On a chilly November afternoon the members of The Sunbeam Club, a charitable and social organization, were in session at the home of their president, Mrs. Jennings, and the treasurer's report of card party receipts for a charity bridge of $40 had just been received, when a ring at the bell took Mrs. Jennings to the front door. She was confronted by a delicate-looking little woman with a baby in her arms, who asked her to buy iron holders. Her refinement and weakness, together with the baby's charm, arrested Mrs. Jennings' attention and she brought her into the club circle to tell her story.

Mrs. Evans said that her husband had deserted her six months ago. She had struggled to support herself and Willie, aged eleven, by sewing. Since the baby's birth, three months ago, she had not been well. Pain in her back prevented her from using her machine. Trouble had piled up on her. Yesterday Willie had been sent home sick from school and the landlord had been pressing her for the month's rent of $15.

The club members were moved by her tale. After a whispered colloquy they promised to pay her rent, to send her food and coal, and they bought her stock of iron holders. They told her not to worry, that the club would undertake to do everything for her and that the members would come in to see how she was getting along. After the baby had been fondled and admired, mother and child took their departure.

The club then proceeded to discuss their new-found object of charity. It was the consensus of opinion that Providence had brought her to their door, and that she was too refined and too good to be referred for help to the Family Welfare Society. "Let us show them how we can help the poor woman without the red tape of organized charity," said an ardent member. It was decided that

they would be systematic. They would appoint a different member each week to take a basket of food economically selected and of wholesome quality. The first visitor would also carry the money for the rent. It was discovered that this relief would exhaust the club's charity fund in three weeks. The President thereupon suggested securing the large item of coal from the Overseer of the City Poor Department.

She thereupon called up his office, to be told that Mrs. Evans was already known to him. It was his office that had placed her in the City Hospital for the birth of her child. He had sent her coal last week. He too thought highly of Mrs. Evans. To please the ladies of The Sunbeam Club he would send another quarter of a ton of coal tomorrow morning. Satisfied with the afternoon's work and the corroboration of their opinion of Mrs. Evans, the club members enthusiastically planned monthly card parties to raise money for the Evans family.

This happened early in January. In March the Secretary of the Family Welfare Society was called to the telephone by Mrs. Jennings, the President of The Sunbeam Club. "I think you should be warned about a woman for whom our club has been doing everything and who has proved to be wicked, dishonest, and ungrateful." She thereupon told the story of the club's interest in the Evans family. She recited in detail how money had been given her to pay the rent and it had not been used for that purpose. A basket of food had been taken her every week, in snow or rain, but they had discovered that the woman had been begging from door to door in other parts of the city during the time that their generosity was being showered upon her. She further explained the reason for not originally referring her to the Family Welfare Society. "But now the Club is through

helping her. It washes its hands of her."[47] Hereafter they would give their charity funds to a hospital or to an orphan asylum "where you have a hold over them and they can't fool you."

Given the description of timid, refined, dark-eyed Mrs. Evans, the Secretary went to her desk and found it tallied with notes taken from three or more telephone messages from local clergymen. These had reported visits from a woman begging, with a baby in her arms, without name or address. Since the reports had come always from a different quarter of the town, it had not been possible to identify her.

That same afternoon came a call from the Principal of Public School No. 2. He asked that a call be made at the home of William Evans. The boy had been dropped from fourth grade to third grade because of dulness and inattention. The medical inspector of the school had said the boy was anemic; the Principal thought home conditions were at fault. The school nurse had visited, but had never found the mother at home.

The next morning the Family Welfare Visitor found Mrs. Evans at home in a flat of five neat rooms, three furnished, two in use. She was indeed a refined-looking woman with appealing big brown eyes. She said that Willie did not seem quite right, but she was taking care of him with some medicine given her by the lady next door. He was a good boy and helped her in every way. He earned $2.50 a week by setting up pins at the corner bowling alley. This kept him in shoes and helped toward his clothing. He slept with his mother and the baby. They all sat up late because she had been afraid to be alone, and she did not know what time they went to bed. He slept late, but they lived so near the school that after a cup of coffee and a bun he arrived there on time. She said the

baby was well; she thrived on condensed milk. She had had one other baby, but he had died after she had secured a doctor, so she wanted nothing to do with doctors. She complained of headache and backache, but she thought it was because she worried so much. She wanted never to see her husband again; this was the third time he had left her. He had treated her very unfairly. He said she made all the trouble. She had always kept a neat, clean home and had always tried to please him.

Mrs. Evans spoke bitterly of her experience with the ladies of The Sunbeam Club. She said they walked in on her at all times. They scolded her so she did not know if her house was her own. She came from good people and wanted to be let alone and to manage her own affairs. This she felt competent to do if the city would pay her rent and send her coal. If this would be assured she would feel better and she could take up her sewing again. She had been able to make a neat sum by sewing aprons and iron holders, for when people saw the baby they paid her a good price for her wares. She did not see that this made her appear as a beggar, nor that it was bad for the baby and Willie.

After being assured that a plan of help would be worked out by the Family Welfare Society, she consented to try the following suggestions: to keep Willie home from the bowling alley; to keep an earlier bedtime hour for all; and to cook some of the ample supplies which she had on hand, so that he would go to school after a breakfast of oatmeal and milk.

Before leaving the neighborhood, the Visitor stopped at the corner bowling alley and warned the proprietor that he was violating the State Child Labor Law, by employing a child of eleven years after 6 P.M. If he continued to employ any boy of this age, she would be obliged to report him.

Schools, previous neighborhoods, and employers of the husband furnished her with a family history which confirmed the Visitor in the inferences she had drawn on the first visit.

She finally located the woman's family and found 3 sisters living in a suburb ten miles away. One was married and had 3 children. Another had recently become a widow, and was without children. With her lived an unmarried sister who supported herself by dressmaking. They were highly respectable, prosperous folk living in comfortable homes of their own. They welcomed anyone who could help them with their sister Marie Evans. They were horrified to learn that she had been begging. They had done everything they could think of in the way of help. Every month they had sent her a postal money order for the rent, and had despatched regularly a barrel of supplies.

She was the youngest of the family. The mother had become insane six months before her birth. The older sisters had looked upon her as their special charge. She had not done well in school, but she had learned housekeeping and dressmaking with them. At eighteen years of age she had run away, and although they had searched for her everywhere, they could not find her. After a year she came home one cold winter day with baby Willie in her arms. She said the father had told her he would marry her, but had finally left her. They located him and secured a settlement of $500 for her and the baby.

As time went on she had become restless, and an old friend of Mr. Owen, the eldest sister's husband, had married her because he wanted a home and she was a very good housekeeper. They had all thought it would solve the problem. Soon after the marriage she had displayed much jealousy for Willie, and Evans had grown so weary

of her tempers that he had walked away. The brother-in-law had induced him to return, and again the same thing had happened. Upon his second return he took Marie to the city to live because he had been transferred to the main office of the Electric Works. The family had left them alone, thinking that perhaps it was better. They had been surprised to hear that Evans had disappeared again and that Marie had gone to the hospital for her confinement. They had taken Willie from a neighbor of the woman and had brought him to their home. They had grown fond of him, and when the mother and baby had left the hospital they had taken them home for a month. She told them she had built up a seamstress's trade for herself before the baby's birth; so they allowed her to carry out her desire to return to D——. They paid the rent and regularly supplied her with food. They had visited her every Sunday. They had not been satisfied with the condition of the children, but she resisted their advice, so they had not known what to do. She refused to return to live with them and to give up her independence. If she could be induced to return to them the widowed sister would be only too glad to give her and the children a home. The family warmly concurred in the plan of the Visitor, which was as follows:

Mental and physical examination of woman and children.

Locating husband and holding him to provide support of woman and children.

Inducing woman to live with the widowed sister, where the children could be under the sister's guardianship.

It took a month or more of united persuasion to get Mrs. Evans to the clinics. Her mental age was found to be that of nine years and the diagnosis was mental deficiency. It was advised that because of her inability to

direct her life and those of her children successfully she should not maintain an independent home. Her physical diagnosis was that she was in need of an operation. William was found to be in need of tonsillectomy. Marie, the baby, was undernourished. The mental diagnosis stated that they were both normal.

The sisters undertook the carrying out of the prescribed treatment. The Family Welfare Society meanwhile located Evans. Judgment was secured for the weekly payment of $10.00 for support of the woman and children. The man had no desire to live with the woman again.

After a year and a half the woman's family reported that the plan was working well. When the woman became restless they arranged a visit for her to friends or relatives. Both children thrived under the care of the sisters and William had achieved his proper grade in the school. The principal of the school had become especially interested in promoting his recreation and vocational guidance.

Discussion of the Family Problem

The public poor department to which in theory the citizen has delegated the duty of caring for his poor neighbor has functioned frequently in such an unsatisfactory manner in many cities and counties that it is often overlooked and forgotten. Many of the poor laws of today, in spite of revisions, perpetuate the spirit and practice of niggardly relief which had existed in ancient times and had been brought to America by the early colonists.

The situation is due to the lack of an informed public opinion, to the limited scope of most of the laws, and to the lack of qualified administrators. The county board of supervisors, the overseers of the poor, the poor com-

missioners "are usually men of average intelligence in the community. In poor relief they probably take the attitude of most of their constituents. That attitude favors the relief of immediate necessities based quite largely upon the theory that except in case of sickness or disaster every one should be self-supporting; that if he is not, there is something wrong with him which should be corrected by subjecting him to the pinch of poverty. Of course the county must not allow anyone to suffer extremely, but 'poor folks have poor ways,' so that it is enough to just keep them from starving to death. Orders are given by the trustee or supervisor without any careful investigation of the facts. Political influence can be exerted for the benefit of political henchmen. The modern conception of service is unknown."[48]

In many of the state laws a poor person is defined as a person unable to maintain himself. This identifies poverty with dependency. It will indeed come to have the same meaning if a poor person is not assisted promptly with relief appropriate to his especial need. This relief should be a part of a scientific plan for rehabilitation, not a crutch to enable the unfortunate to stumble down the path of deterioration. The state of Indiana was one of the first to adopt a constructive theory and practice of public relief according to modern ideas. Westchester County, New York, is demonstrating how a county can efficiently administer public aid by means of trained social workers practising scientific methods.

The Overseer of the Poor of the City of D—— is of the traditional type. His policy has been trimmed by the economies of his political superiors, but he has also received criticism from more enlightened sources. He has become somewhat sensitive, and in this instance he has been conscious of having given very little aid to this

woman recovering from childbirth. He would like to impress The Sunbeam Club by proving that a public official is kind hearted. Since he is so accustomed to being overlooked, he is grateful to receive this recognition of his office and therefore readily agrees to the Society's request.

The Family Welfare Society has received his lukewarm co-operation in the use of the Social Service Exchange. (See Chapter XI.) He reserves the right, however, to withhold from registration the names of certain families. Mrs. Evans was one of these. Because it was a case of desertion he considered it belonged to his office, since the poor law gives him the duty of prosecuting the husband who fails to support his wife and child. This he intended to do if the man turned up, and in the meanwhile the woman asked for little aid.

Up to this point the treatment of the Evans family in the City of D—— in the United States, 1920, has not been different from that which it would have received in London in 1868 before the pioneer group started the Charity Organization Society.

The Family Welfare Society in the City of D—— in 1920 has developed from this progenitor. It had been organized about ten years before by a group sensitized to the sufferings of the poor who were neglected under the traditional system. It had set itself the task of rendering an intermediary service, sympathetic, scientific, to the neglected, on the one hand, and to the public on the other. It sought to cut through the social strata and to open up a way of understanding between the advantaged and the disadvantaged.

It endeavored "to organize scientifically the forces," personal and material, of a community in such a way as to eliminate waste and friction, "and to raise progressively

the capacity of every member for productivity, service, and joy in life."[49] It had no desire to substitute organization for personal service of neighbors. It tried to stimulate and include "all voluntary attempts to extend benefits in response to needs which are concerned with social relationship and which avail themselves of scientific knowledge and employ scientific methods."[50] It had not yet succeeded in drawing into the circle The Sunbeam Club. It had partially succeeded with the Overseer of the Poor. It had begun to convince the clergy of the city of the need to pool their information and not "to go it alone" in their attempts to succor distress. By repeated demonstration of effectual service it had completely gained the co-operation of public school officials.

The effort to organize and humanize the scattered efforts of a modern city into an ordered sympathetic constructive service is no mean task, nor can it be accomplished in a decade.

The difference between the visit of the Family Welfare Society and the visits of The Sunbeam Club was in the approach, and also in the difference between service qualified to appreciate the complexity of human difficulty and that not so qualified.

The approach of the Family Welfare Society was that of regarding the situation as capable of entire change, and of looking for the real under the appearance of things. It acted upon the social and economic principles that in the family the strong should be responsible for the weak, and that family support should not be taken over by the community unless there were no strong members of the family to undertake it. It had certain standards of child care, physical, mental, and moral. Above all, it approached a family problem with an open mind, prepared to evaluate the assets and the liabilities. Since its goal

was family building upon a sound basis of known fact, it utilized and developed individual and social values to help release the personality of the members of the family. It regarded its task as a serious undertaking, and, if once assumed, believed that it should not only receive the most careful and adequate treatment, but that no matter how discouraging the problem appeared, it should be carried through to a conclusion which would insure care and protection.

Because of what she sees and hears the Visitor begins to find out what is the trouble with the family. Before she can verify her inference that the woman is constitutionally unable to intelligently direct her own life and that of her children, certain obvious unhygienic habits can be corrected. It is plain that the Visitor has won the confidence of the woman to agree to make changes. The visit to the home and neighborhood of the Evans family has revealed so much more that was wrong than appeared on the surface that the Visitor felt she had only begun on the problem.

THE APPARENT DIFFICULTIES

had been	*after the first visit they appeared to be*
Begging.	Chronic unstable marital relation of parents.
Insufficient income.	
Deserting husband.	Woman's incapacity as parent shown in:
Boy's health.	Improper food and sleeping habits of children. Boy's night work.
Woman's health.	
Boy's school retardation.	Begging.

In the attempt to restrain the illegal employment of child labor the Visitor utilizes the control society has found necessary to exercise over parents and employers in order to safeguard the childhood of the nation. She is not only concerned with William Evans, but with all

children in the City of D——, and therefore informs the employer of his violation of the Child Labor Law.

Consultation with others who have known the family longer is carried on with no purpose of detection of falsehood in the woman's story. The purpose is to become acquainted with available sources of information, and to secure the co-operation of friends, relatives, school, church, employer. These all represent forces which have made the family what it is. Without knowing them we cannot understand the family.

Both the relatives and The Sunbeam Club showed by the way they helped Mrs. Evans that they were limited in their conception of what human beings need.

Food, fuel, and shelter, while necessary, do not automatically make family welfare. These relatives have a strong sense of family responsibility but they have been unable to solve the family problem. This intermediary service of the Family Welfare Society helps the relatives to carry out their desire to take care of their sister and her children by furnishing intelligence and scientific aid.

"There can be no doubt that the main characteristics of every living thing are unalterably fixed by heredity. . . . Our family traits were determined by the hereditary constitutions of our ancestors, our inherited personal traits by the hereditary constitutions of our fathers and mothers."[51]

"There is no longer any question that some kinds of feeble-mindedness, epilepsy, and insanity are inherited, and that there is often a hereditary basis for nervous and phlegmatic temperaments, for emotional, judicial, and calculating temperaments."[52]

The experience and knowledge of the social worker had taught her to question mental capacity when a person exhibits instability.

It is apparent from the diagnosis of feeble-mindedness that Mrs. Evans was not competent to direct her own life or that of her children. An impossible task had been imposed upon a child mind, when her relations, The Sunbeam Club, and the Overseer of the Poor had expected her to transmute raw material of food and shelter into family welfare. They had erred by taking it for granted that she was a competent person. She responded, as do many other feeble-minded persons, when they are placed in a favorable environment and receive direction from kindly and intelligent people.

Safeguarded by the protection of a home and friends she was able to lead a blameless and a fairly useful life.

It remains to tell that the Family Welfare Society utilized the subsequent history of the Evans family to convince The Sunbeam Club and the Overseer of the Poor that the way to help the poor is to determine unflinchingly the true situation and upon this to build a thoroughgoing plan of permanent help. The Sunbeam Club continues to give card parties for charity, but it now hands over its funds to be administered by the Family Welfare Society. This latter organization does not want to teach the community that by pushing a button it is relieved of all responsibility for the poor, and therefore it offers opportunity for training to interested serious-minded individuals so that they may intelligently participate in its services.

Through the effort of the Family Welfare Society we see that the individuals of a deteriorating family group are given the benefit of scientific treatment, including change of environment. In this environment the children receive nurture, the feeble-minded woman protection, and her sisters and her husband assume rightful responsibility. The community is relieved from the begging and

other unstable acts of a feeble-minded woman, and it is strengthened socially and economically by the conservation and development of human values, especially as discovered in the two children for whom permanent plans were made for nurture.

This form of service is known as Family Social Work, or Social Case Work.

Chapter VI

THE FAMILY—ORIGINS AND CONTINUITIES

Family social work, as presented in the previous chapter, revealed that it made use of something in addition to its understanding of social interactions, something in addition to its belief in personality, in power of change, and its conviction that the scientific method is the way to bring about a release of these powers. That something is its standard of family life by which it measured the social adequacy of the Evans family. It also determined the nature of the plan which was adopted to insure nurture and protection to the woman and her children.

The family as a social and educational institution has been unchallenged until recent years. The failure of modern family life to perform its accepted function as the training center for youth has met with trenchant criticism. Its traditional ideas and standards are being tested in the crucible of fearless inquiry in order to discover their values to human life under the changed conditions of modern civilization.

What Modern Society Requires of Man

As society is constituted today man is wanted for his human quality, namely, his power to think and his power to eternally alter himself and his environment. Man also has power to draw from his social heritage the vast accumulation of knowledge and adapt it to changing conditions. It has served him as a key to unlock great forces of nature. Challenged by the new social conditions which

the release of these forces had brought about, he must find a way to control them that they may promote his own human ends. The mind of man has responded to this demand with amazing celerity and ingenuity in the physical realm. That he has not been so ready to question social customs and ideas in the psychic realm and reshape them to new attitudes and values is apparent in the conflict today between the old and the new in the group life of families and individuals. The life of man is determined by the material conditions of life and also by the psychic controls of life. "If any social unity of more than a merely animal sort is to be attained, purely subjective elements must be taken into account. For in all conscious human groups it is the mental attitude of the individuals toward one another which is the final decisive factor which decides whether a group shall maintain its unity or disrupt its harmony."[53]

Man the Worker

In the world of labor there is an increasing demand for man's human quality of reason rather than for his physical labor. Power-driven plows, shovels, drills, sowers, reapers have supplanted the muscles of ignorant and servile men. Man enthroned in the cab of the engine manipulating levers and buttons, registering quick decisions, presents the picture of his human superiority of mind over physical forces. For the most part ancient labor legislation secured to society labor in quantity. Today labor legislation conserves the quality of labor. It aims to protect the worker's health and leisure. The intricacies of mechanical production call for either adaptability and ingenuity or conformity to routine processes. Alert intelligence, resistance to the nervous strain and grind of factory life, can only be maintained by strong resilient

bodies and sound minds. On the other hand, monotonous mechanical processes can only be endured by the majority of human beings if there are compensatory satisfactions in leisure time. Modern studies of the feeble-minded suggest that there is possibly 5 to 10 per cent. of the population who are well adapted by intellect for the performance of routine tasks, and are happier in them.[54]

Man the Citizen

Democracy itself is in the balance today because it is doubtful if life, as it is at present constituted, furnishes citizens qualified for "that plan of government in which the ruling power of the state is legally vested not in any class or classes, but in the members of the community as a whole—where the will of the people prevails in all important matters."[55] It is plain that to function efficiently in a democratic form of government the citizens must possess

1. Capacity for judgment in the intelligent exercise of their franchise.
2. Capacity for co-operation with others, a faculty for give and take which will harmonize differences.
3. Capacity for leadership which will define, guide, and organize the aspirations and activities of the less articulate.

The greatest defect of modern civilization has been the existence of a passive mass of people. They have unthinkingly given their loyalty to symbols which express traditional ideas. They have not formed opinions for themselves, principally because systems of education have imparted stereotyped ideas, and have not encouraged independent thinking. The life of the modern state depends upon a citizenry of persons who think, who create, who can successfully live together.

The Family as a Training Center

If the world stands in need of persons rather than men, women, and children in the mass, we must discover the appropriate field for their development.

Family life has always been the center of education for man. It is there that the child becomes aware of an outside world. The intimacy and the small size of the group furnish social relations which are not too complex for his slowly unfolding powers of adaptation.

The human child is unlike the animal which comes into the world with, so to speak, ready-made habits of conduct. The calf but a few hours old, with his mother in the field, stumbles to his feet and feeds on grass as well as on his mother's milk. The duckling, even when hatched by a hen, finds his way to the pond and swims. The animal inherits fixed reactions to stimuli. He is educated, as it were, before birth. The human child inherits, if normal, potentiality for development, capacity for education. He possesses certain inheritances from a long train of ancestors, but they are plastic; they may be molded into varying forms of conduct according to the social group into which he is born. His individual response to his surroundings is the molder; it modifies his own desires for food, for protection, for love, for esteem. To secure satisfaction for these he will cry, or he will cease crying, according to the gratification of desires he secures from his mother and from other members of his small circle. These acts repeated and controlled by his experience form habits. His experience is determined by the conduct of those who surround him. The conduct of those who surround him, that of his social group, has been determined by their inheritance and their customs, traditions, ideas, and ideals. These have resulted from

complex social life made up of religion, law, learning, passed on and added to from one generation to another. When the infant becomes older he will exhibit more ingenuity in harmonizing satisfaction of his desires with his surroundings and with the ideas of others. He will feed on the jam placed supposedly out of his reach on the top pantry shelf because he has explored and overcome the difficulty in his path of achievement by means of the kitchen chair. He will act noiselessly and will even wash the stickiness off his fingers to avoid blame from his group. If his social group has shown that their lives are controlled by certain ideals, maturity will doubtless bring to our boy of the jam pot a personality unified by a loyalty to honor, to affection, to consideration of others. While his appetite craves the jam, he denies himself the gratification of that desire because he has voluntarily adopted for himself a code of conduct. He subordinates physical desire to a desire to realize the higher self he has decided to be.

It is therefore apparent that the character of the child from the day of his birth is molded by his social environment quite as much as the strength and girth of his body is determined by his physical environment.

A little eight-year-old lad, arrested for repeated acts of stealing, showed no understanding of the judge's talk on the rights of others and respect for their property. The probation officer learned that the boy from birth had never known the security of a home or the affection of parents. His infancy had been exploited by a begging, dissolute couple to whom he had been given by his dying mother. At the age of four, having lost his infantile appeal, they had abandoned him in the shop of a Fagin. His new master trained him to thieve. When he was seven he had cast the boy off because he had fumbled a

pocket picking. Ever since, the child had snatched an uncertain and predatory existence from the streets. Upon the recommendation of the probation officer the lad was committed to the home of patient, understanding, kindly people where the boy was given pets and playthings that he could call his own. After a year he began to show an appreciation of the difference between mine and thine, and because his property rights were respected he began to respect the rights of others. His whole being expanded to companions, school, and regular work. His pride in "his family" when they take prizes at the County Fair is touching.

Adults have been slow to realize the difficulties the child must surmount by himself. The human child has to face the growing recognition of reality. He has to bid farewell to many of his treasured fantasies; he has to adjust emotions toward relations; he is forced to adapt himself to authoritative environment, and he must face the necessity of unifying his personality. The most difficult phase of growing up is the emotional adjustment, a process which is distinguished from, but connected with, the physical and intellectual development. This is especially true in households where the latter requirements are amply supplied, but where the devoted fathers and mothers interpret their parental duty to be that of making the world easy and soft for the child, thereby unconsciously sacrificing the independence of the child in order to satisfy their own desire for importance in his life. He needs to overcome the helplessness of childhood, to satisfy the urge for enlargement of self, the balking of which makes a serious situation. And yet there is an attraction in clinging to childhood's dependency. However, if this dependency is yielded to, the result is infantilism, which is the conduct of a child on the part of a grown man.

Mental health depends upon a nice balance between self-assertion and self-subordination, a poise of conduct which makes choice of those satisfactions which are socially approved.

If the inherited capacity of the normal human child depends for growth upon its surroundings, physical, mental, moral, and spiritual, then we see that heredity and environment are complementary. There is no competing claim of one against the other; both determine the personality of the human child. Each system acts selectively upon the other, determining what will work and what will not. The social organization sets standards of fitness which the biological process must meet to its utmost capacity. Heredity supplies capacity. Society molds that capacity into conduct.

Psychology is giving us an increasing respect for the personality of the child. He is not the diminutive man or woman of the Van Dyke or Gainsborough portraits, but an unfolding individual personality in a physically dependent body. Psychology is also giving us an appreciation of the importance of the early childhood period in man's destiny. "During the first four years of life the infant yields unreservedly to its instinctive promptings, reaching out in all directions for new experiences, and thus acquiring that background of information about the environment which is a precondition to further development."[56]

Social Significance of the Helplessness of the Human Child

These biological, psychological, and economic forces which determine the development of the human child carry with them an enormous social significance. This helplessness of the human child contrasted with the self-

reliance of the animal means a prolongation of the infancy period, and therefore holds the parents together. Here we discover the origin of the family. Before there was a state or religion to determine its importance, or to legalize and sanctify marriage, the need for food, for protection, for the training of the utterly helpless infant, made the permanent union of parents necessary. Co-operation has always been an essential attribute of family life.

The Primitive Family

In the early days of primitive man, when struggle for existence was his all-absorbing occupation, economic necessity determined the organization of family life. Food getting, warding off enemies, and rudiments of domesticity represented the life of man. Students agree that monogamy, the habit of having one mate, is the most common form of the marriage relationship. "Monogamy is found among many of the lowest savages known, and it is the most common form of the marriage relationship. . . . Nothing has ever completely supplanted the individual monogamous family in the history of human society. . . . The bond which held the primitive family together was paternal care, maternal devotion, and filial affection."[57]

The age-long test of family solidarity, which may be applied to the modern family, is: Are the strong taking care of the weak? In the primitive family as in modern times there was the need of care for helpless childhood and dependent old age. "The firmly welded single family is not a recent attainment of civilization, but it exists even at the lowest stage of culture."[58]

The struggle for survival brought about modifications of the family. At one time it would be organized into kinship bands, either the mother right or the father right

predominating. Again, the single family found it easier to procure food and safety for the smaller group.

Man's Control of His Environment

There is always a close connection between family organization and the food supply. Momentous change from the roving predatory life of primitive man to social stability was brought about when man achieved his first triumphal mastery over his environment. This was his discovery of how to increase food supply by means of agriculture and animal husbandry. Now released from the tyranny of chance in procuring the necessities of life, man's intelligence proceeded to devise further control over nature. He employed skill in the making and use of tools. Those who excelled specialized in certain arts and crafts, and division of labor ensued. Man organized rites into a religion, which he thought propitiated unseen forces. He devised social organizations of the clan, the phratry, and the tribe on a basis of kinship or totemism. These represented government, and to these he surrendered control over himself. They perpetuated those life experiences which were found socially useful for man. These became fixed in custom, tradition, law, and furnished the basis of civilization.

The Patriarchal Form of Family Life

It is clear that this social development of man is due to his superior intelligence over his animal ancestors. His puny physique, unless aided by superior brain, would never have survived. Therefore, the leaders in the social groups are such because of initiative, resourcefulness, and knowledge of skills and practice which had proved good for the human race. The elders, therefore, became constituted authority, and the patriarchal form of family

life developed into the dominant type. Its characteristic veneration of age easily set the custom of ancestor worship. Described by Aristotle, the family is the association by nature for the supply of men's every-day wants, and the members of it are called by Chorandas,

> "Companions of the cupboard,
> Companions of the hearth."[59]

The domestic hearth was the center of home life. This was expressed in "The Hindu prayer to the Hearth' 'Thou restoreth to the right the man who has gone astray in the wrong.' "[60]

The Roman patriarchal family regarded the hearth as the sacred place of religion. "Nothing alien or unclean was admitted into the sacred precinct. This necessity of preserving its purity became also the source of morality. It demanded from all who approached it chastity, purity from blood guiltiness, faithfulness in married life."[61]

The patriarchal form of family life was a co-operative corporation in which men and women had a well-defined place. At the head was the senior member, either male or female, varying in different sections. All able-bodied persons were obliged to contribute their labor and earnings, whether of personal skill or agriculture and trade, to the common stock. There was usually joint production and joint sharing of toil. Weaker members, widows and orphans and destitute relations, were supported and maintained. These great communal households sheltered three and four generations, including brothers, nephews, and cousins, all sharing equally in toil and in the product of their toil.

The personal relations of the man were that of lord and master to his wife and children. They were his property to be disposed of according to that which he con-

sidered would promote the good of his familial group. The norm of respect of wife to husband included obedience, fidelity, care for his comfort and health. That from husband to wife was good treatment and fidelity. The attitude of children to parents was subordination. Children often represented wealth because of their labor or because of the right of the parents to barter them for more material gain. If they became useless there was nothing to prevent their being abandoned. There was little place for personal affection between members of the family. The bonds that held them together were constituted authority and economic dependence.

The patriarchal form of family life has persisted from ancient times to the present day in variable degrees of integrity. In the Orient, China, Japan, India it has remained practically unchanged. In the Western world it continues where its appropriate setting of agricultural life has remained unmodified by the Industrial Revolution. Vestiges of its old-time controls in tradition and custom are apparent in modern England and America. In provincial France and Italy elders still select husbands and wives for youth. The young couples take up their abode in the family household and are expected to conform to its traditions and customs.

In view of our social inheritance in this country and that of our immigrant neighbors it will be serviceable to recapitulate some of the characteristics of the patriarchal form of family life. We have found that family solidarity and stability have been the outstanding features, and that there has been always a strong sense of responsibility for the weak by the strong. The supremacy of elders who acted at first as priests, lawgivers, and educators, and later shared this authority with the church, has militated against the development of individuality. The members

have been dependent economically and intellectually upon the family. Control over the individual has been lodged in the family group, and this subordination of the person has existed because of the denial of the rights of the individual; he has counted only in as far as he has preserved the family status and tradition. It has been considered that the latter would be jeopardized by an independent departure from the accepted mores on the part of a member of the group, and it is easy to understand that this attitude made for the inferior position of woman. As we recall the need of the modern world for self-directing, self-reliant resourceful persons, we see the unsuitability of this ancient form of family organization with its inflexible attitudes and rigid controls.

A striking example of the social conflict between the old and the new is presented in the immigrant who comes from the agricultural section of Southeastern Europe to city life in America. In Poland, for instance, the man's status is determined entirely by that of his family, which, in turn, depends upon ownership of property. This explains what one often cannot understand, the immigrant's sacrifice of the essentials of life for his home-owning savings fund. As a boy in the old country he gradually increased in familial importance because of his relationship to the family estate. As a young man, after beginning man's work until marriage, he could not dispose of money earned, but was obliged to give it to his father for use on the estate. After marriage his status was changed. Until the parents' retirement he managed his part of the fortune, but under familial control. He was almost the equal of his father. After the father's retirement the son would take the father's place as manager and head of the property and general arbiter of the affairs of younger brothers and sisters.

Information regarding the old world, where the patriarchal form of family life still dominates, explains the attitude toward raw materials and open lands and helps us to understand the conduct of immigrant boys. When these boys help themselves to railroad ties, coal and lumber, they come into conflict with a law which they do not at first understand, for in agricultural Poland the peasant does not consider raw material as the property of any one person. They are simply sources—("in pastures and forests)—from which every member of the community can draw material."[62]

Likewise the immigrant is confused about other customs of his native land which are at variance with the manners of the new world. Many of his traditions and habits are rooted in the past and represent values identified with veneration of elders, but they are frequently shattered when he finds, instead of being cherished, they are often ridiculed for their inappropriateness in the America of his experience. His transplanting has severed him from the old controls of conduct, and his habitual stability often gives place to instability if his new life does not replace values which he can assimilate to the permanent worth of the old.

Notwithstanding these aspects of the patriarchal form of family life its contribution to the world's culture must not be minimized; for its stabilization permitted the development of arts, skills, crafts, religion, and government. To the patriarchal form of family life we owe civilization itself. It has been the faithful trustee of the best of human experience.

Chapter VII

AN IMMIGRANT FAMILY IN A CHANGING WORLD

Steve Bolinsky, aged thirteen, stood before the Judge in Juvenile Court. His shock of blond hair all but obscured his blue eyes which were fixed on the judge. With unflinching gaze he replied, "Sure, I done it! Me and the other fellers."

Beside the boy's short stocky form stood his father and mother. She had told the court that she was forty-three, but her stooped shoulders, her head covered with a black shawl, shadowing the workworn face, gave her the appearance of eighty. The father, aged forty-five, appeared as scared and blighted as the mother. In response to the Judge, who asked him why he had not sent the boy to school, he defiantly shook his finger and said, "I am old. I am sick. Who'll get me bread if my child does not work for me? This America, it takes the young and teaches disrespect for parents. This is my child. I will do with him what I want."

The probation officer had told the Court that Steve with a gang of boys had broken into Public School No. 3. They had cut out some of the plumbing fixtures and sold them. The police had identified them as the same gang which had stolen coal from cars on the Pine Street siding the week before. The railroad detective had discovered them, but they had run away from him. A month ago the truant officer had found Steve working in the glass factory. He had taken the lad back to School No. 3, but

he had been absent ever since and the officer had been unable to find him.

The Judge of the Juvenile Court had a rooted objection to sending boys to the State Reformatory. The three boys older than Steve had been in Court twice before, so he ordered that they should be held for another week in the county jail to await sentence. Because this was Steve's first delinquency, he ordered the probation officer to ascertain the father's condition of health and to enquire into other family resources.

Six years ago Steve's family had come from Polish Galicia, where with the elder brother's household they had all worked on the family farm. Two seasons of drought, one after the other, had induced the elder brother to grant the wish of Steve's father to immigrate to America. He cut and sold a piece of timber and bought the tickets for all of them, his brother and his wife, Frank, aged sixteen, Eva, aged eleven, and Steve, eight years old. Upon landing at Ellis Island, they went straight to the mines, where the father and Frank found work and Eva and Steve went to school. The walk to school was two miles, after they climbed over the culm heaps into the woods the children had a chance to play with their old-time friends, the brooks, the squirrels, and the unseen fairies.

When Steve was twelve his brother Frank was caught in a coal-dust explosion. His mangled body was brought home and Steve was forced to go to work in his place because his father was sick with rheumatism much of the time. He worked ten hours a day in a breaker. For two years he labored winter and summer, when the mines suddenly shut down. After three months of idleness, the family hearing about the factories where everyone could get a job, moved to the city in search of a living.

Upon their arrival friends took them into their tenement flat of three rooms in one of a bleak bare row of dilapidated three-story wooden dwellings, standing on swampy lands on the outskirts of the city near the oil works. Only one of the rooms in the flat had a window to the open air. The other two were totally dark and airless except for that which they derived from the kitchen. With every rainstorm the roof leaked—the only water which ran into these comfortless flats. A well in the yard, the pump of which was frozen most of the winter, served as the sole water-supply for the twelve families in each of the five houses in the row. This well was located at the lowest part of the yard, which was littered with piles of ashes and garbage rising above the pools of fetid water seeping out of the privies.

The morning after their arrival Eva was taken by one of the girls to an employment office where she soon secured a place as general houseworker at $40.00 a month. Steve was rounded up for school by the attendance officer. When the father got a job at the oil works at $4.00 a day the family moved into their own flat of two rooms in the basement of the same house. Eva has paid the rent, $25.00 a month, out of her wages ever since, because her father was able to work but two or three days a week.

School No. 3 placed Steve in the third grade because he had had so little schooling. That the boy had capacity was shown by his mental tests which gave him an intelligence quotient of ninety-five. This strong vigorous boy who had been accustomed to man's work was not only irked by the dull routine of the classroom, but he was humiliated to be placed with little boys. He knew so much more than they, even if he could not spell latitude, or multiply twelve by nine. He felt the school had done him an injustice. When his father could not work his

mother rocked back and forth in her chair moaning that they would all die for lack of food. Steve said then, "I just had to get a job." He had put on a pair of his father's trousers, had gone to the glass factory where he told them he was sixteen years old, and he was put to work at $9.00 a week. All went well until the attendance officer looked him up and carried him back to school. The principal placed him with a different teacher in the same grade, where the children were somewhat older than in his first class. The school had no ungraded class for retarded boys and girls. Steve gave no trouble, but showed no interest, and after a week he disappeared. He had made up his mind that if he could not work he would use his time to get fuel for his mother. He soon joined a gang of boys who knew how to fill bags with coal from the cars and get away with them. When warm weather came the gang decided that they would travel, but they wanted to start with some cash. This was the reason they had broken into the school and stolen the metal which they expected to sell. Steve had decided that he would not join them; he would take his share of the loot and buy a new suit for his Easter communion, for which his mother had prayed to St. Ladislaw at the church whose golden dome was the one pleasing bright object on the Smithtown Flats.

It was plain to the social worker that Steve, a thirteen-year-old Polish peasant boy, had become a delinquent in industrial America for the following reasons:

Immigration

The immigration of Steve's family had uprooted them from a soil and from a family upon which they were economically and socially dependent. Ignorant of the language, and of agricultural opportunity in America, they

accompanied other fellow countrymen to the mines. The mine offered a place where the peasant's sole capital, his brawny muscle, could produce a livelihood. In these isolated communities those old world customs, to which the immigrant was able to cling, assumed undue importance in his life. This was because they alone could give social status to a poor family dwelling in a company-owned settlement detached from the usual social institutions. These cherished customs emphasized differences and, together with the immigrant's lack of English, served to keep him apart from the stream of American life, thus delaying assimilation.

The labor of Steve for long hours under unwholesome conditions not only deprived this eleven-year-old boy of the minimum amount of schooling, which is necessary for achievement in America, but it thwarted his physical development, and balked his natural desire for play and creative effort.

Upon moving to a state which prohibited child labor Steve had been forced to attend a school which had no suitable course of instruction for the retarded, a large class of boys and girls present in every city. It had failed to hold his interest, so he found truancy an easy road to larger and, to his mind, more important affairs.

In addition to these obvious reasons for Steve's delinquency there had been certain contributory causes, such as: the industrial accident in the mine which had taken the life of his older brother and so had deprived the family of income for want of which they had pressed Steve into gainful occupation; the father's health which was affected by the conditions of his work in the mines, and the low standard of living intensified by bad housing both at the mines and in the city.

The social worker, in addition to interpreting the causes

for Steve's offenses against society, was equally mindful of the favorable aspects of his case. These furnished the basis of a plan which it was hoped would conserve and bring to practical achievement the fine values of loyalty, industry, sense of responsibility, and family affection.

Steve was to be sent 150 miles away to a farmer and his wife, who had previously shown what their wholesome family life could do to straighten out boys like Steve. There he would attend a small rural school which had a wise, experienced teacher. The plan included hospital treatment for the father because of the diagnosis of arthritis. Eva took a vigorous share in the plan; she moved her mother to two airy light rooms, not far from her place of work, and while her father was in the hospital she came home every night.

All did not go smoothly at first. In the week between the sessions of court Steve, being at large in charge of the probation officer, one afternoon took a bicycle left by the street curb in front of a store. He mounted it and rode 10 miles into the country. As he was returning it to the place from which he took it, the police seized him and he was put into jail until Juvenile Court day.

In spite of this outbreak, the Judge accepted the plan and committed him to the Children's Aid Society, which undertook his country placement. He was restless at first because of his homesickness. He only settled down after he was convinced that during the summer he would be permitted to work for pay, which he would send to his mother. He won the affection of his foster parents, who took pride in his achievements. Among these was the completion of the sixth grade in school and the marketing of 100 dozen eggs from chickens of his own raising. The farmer accompanied Steve home after his year and a half, to tell about the boy's success. After his return to his

family he worked for the telephone company setting up poles and later he became a lineman. He is saving his money so that he can return to the hills and buy a farm promised by his friends.

This history is typical of the difficulties which beset the thousands of immigrant families whose rigid patriarchal customs do not fit them to make speedy adjustment to modern America. They transplant themselves from a rural life of conformity with family controls to an industrial life in democratic America where the individual counts as an independent citizen. They are bewildered, and often defiant, when they find that the modern state has taken over many of the ancient family controls. This history makes plain the necessity of social control in order to secure certain minimums of welfare which families cannot, either through inability or through ignorance of the standards required in America, secure for themselves. It also makes it evident that a service of interpretation of more than speech is required to enable the immigrant to understand American institutions.

Just as these social conditions affected the Bolinsky family they are affecting the welfare of others in varying degree, therefore let us consider them in their wider significance to the general population.

Child Labor

Steve Bolinsky, aged eleven, was one of the 1,060,858 children between ten and sixteen years of age who were gainfully employed in the United States in 1920.

Ever since the day when Alexander Hamilton had urged in Congress the use of cheap child labor to help the infant industries of the young nation, the United States has been gainfully employing children to tend machinery by day and by night. In these early days when the first

nine operatives of the first cotton mill of Samuel Slater in Massachusetts were seven boys and two girls between the ages of seven and twelve, there was no scientific understanding of the harm wrought thereby to the youth of the nation. Rather was it considered beneficial to give occupation to otherwise idle children. The objection to child labor is not child work. A natural child is seldom idle; something is wrong when he is not occupied. The injury to childhood is the fatigue of long hours and the increase and accentuation of physical defects by unwholesome working conditions. The business of the child is to grow and gain weight, and this is unquestionably interfered with by subordinating it to the business of making money out of childhood's toil. Child labor also constitutes a repressive emotional environment and imposes a servitude to purposes not the child's own. Thus natural and important instincts are balked and complexities arise which manifest themselves in lawlessness and other antisocial behavior.

The Federal Child Labor Laws of 1916 and 1919 have been declared unconstitutional. They had prohibited the employment of children under fourteen in mills, factories, canneries, or workshops, and forbade the employment of children between fourteen and sixteen years of age for more than eight hours a day, and six days a week, and between 7 A. M. and 6 P. M. The defeat of the recently submitted Federal Amendment which proposed to give Congress the power to limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under the age of eighteen years should serve as a challenge to the states. There are ten states which have not exercised their sovereign right to prohibit children between fourteen and sixteen from working nine to eleven hours a day. Other states which provide no protection against night work to children, or which do

not raise the minimum prohibited age to eighteen for boys working in the mines should act promptly. The Amendment was intended to give Congress the same power that the states have always possessed, and that the enlightened ones have always used, namely, to forbid boys and girls under eighteen to run elevators, to be exposed to explosive and poisonous dust and fumes, and to clean moving machinery. Such prohibitions and regulations are recognized as necessary where industry is highly developed.

School Systems Unadjusted to the Individual Child

The democratic state for its own protection has found it necessary to exercise control over its growing citizens if ignorant or greedy parents deprive the child of his right to education. The problem of providing school facilities for the rapidly increasing population has been so great that cities and towns have found it difficult to include in their systems education appropriate for the special child who is handicapped physically, mentally, or socially. Nevertheless, industrial expansion has drawn these children to the city or town; hence, it is only reasonable to expect industrial communities to appropriate a proportionately larger amount of the tax budget to schools than formerly. So difficult has it been to make any advance in regulating child labor that there has not been a consistent parallel development of appropriate schooling. With one hand society should keep the growing child out of the factory, and with the other it should extend suitable training and education for those who do not fit into the regular grades. Schools like the one in the city to which the Bolinskys came to work offer no chance of development to the especial needs of boys like Steve. Big of muscle and mature of purpose, these boys have been fre-

quently deprived of the rudiments of education in backward communities. This is the hardship worked in a nation where there are no uniform, minimum child labor prohibitions and compulsory school attendance laws. A Massachusetts inquiry into the causes of children entering employment before the completion of grammar school revealed the fact that nearly one-half the foreign-born children in four cities became regular workers at an early age. It found that about one-half of these had been decidedly retarded in school. These facts show the comparative failure of the school system at the very point where the greatest success might be anticipated in the process of transforming recent immigrants into American citizens. It discloses the pressing need for the study and application of methods of training adolescent boys and girls, both native and foreign. A few states have provided facilities which develop whatsoever capacity these children possess by furnishing vocational guidance, school counseling, and continuation schools. These latter are attempting to provide occupation that satisfies instincts which are socially and individually serviceable.

Leisure Time Activities

The use of spare time generally determines the life direction of the boy or girl. In play the child tries to be that somebody which the confinement of school and crowded homes prevents him from realizing. Recognition of his need for self-expression and group life has led to nation-wide recreation programs.

Boys' clubs, Girl and Boy Scouts, and kindred organizations have taken up the challenge to make the gang serve a social rather than a lawless end. Almost every city has set aside playground and recreation centers and furnished some leadership for social organization. It

remains to extend this service into every neighborhood in order to provide wholesome substitution to youth for passive commercialized recreation and furtive vices. The rural districts also need to recognize the need of youth for leisure time and to show him how to utilize natural resources for social ends.

Housing

Bad housing in a desolate isolated neighborhood, both at the mine and in the city, had closed in on the Bolinsky family, bred to open spaces, green fields, and forests. This, with the work in the mines, had taken the father's health. The confinement in airless rooms and endless toil for the inevitable boarder household had taken the mother's youth and vitality. The tenement house in the barren neighborhood of Smithtown Flats, where this family lived, was typical of industrial cities. Sudden increase of population together with public inertia has found cities unequipped to provide decent housing for its working people. Overcrowded lot space has made dark rooms, which destroy health. Shortage of housing and high rents make room congestion which denies privacy to families and which increases nervous strain. Lack of water-supply and sewage disposal is a condition which has existed in spite of housing laws. When the state seriously concerns itself with human welfare it will enforce its laws. It will also restrain speculative finance and limit profit to a reasonable interest; and it will extend credit to facilitate the building of houses for low rentals. Then only will working people be able to rear their children in real homes.

Occupational Disease

Steve Bolinsky's father had told the judge that he was sick, and that therefore thirteen-year-old Steve, upon

the death of his brother, had to become a wage earner. Arthritis, when it is contracted in mining, is regarded as an occupational disease in a few states, and the victim receives compensation. Only the Federal Government and California, Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Connecticut, North Dakota have laws which insure compensation for workers stricken by every malady which is included in the long list of occupational diseases. A few other states have laws covering specific hazards, but in thirty-seven there is no compensation whatever for health destroyed by poisons, dusts, and fumes during the course of employment. The worker who contracts tuberculosis thereby not only has to bear the crushing weight of the malady, but he has to meet the cost of medical service. If he cannot do this, he must apply to public or private relief for aid for himself and his family. Two new industrial poisons have been recently identified, lead tetra ethyl, used in gasoline, and radium, used in painting luminous dials on watches. The whole subject of occupational disease is receiving intelligent consideration and a practical revolution is going on in industry today in the maintenance of health. The agitation for compulsory legislation has promoted health conservation in the large manufacturing plants. The industrial physician, the nurse, the plant engineer, and the personnel manager provided by the enlightened employer are the leaders in the new humanized health program of industry.

Industrial Accident

The victims of work injuries are chiefly men in the prime of life, since it is the young and vigorous, like Steve's brother Frank, who was killed in the mine explosion, who predominantly engage in extra hazardous employments. The total casualties of the American Army

in the World War did not equal the casualties to American workmen in peaceful employments between April, 1917, and November, 1918. The realization of the accident loss, which amounts to cancelling one week's production in every year, has led to effective campaigns inaugurated by big industries. Work with dangerous machinery is being increasingly protected, but the frequency of casualties in mining demand that every mining state should require preventive measures. Many states have provided means for the rehabilitation of the physically handicapped person maimed in industry, and the Federal Government extends aid to states making such provisions.

All of these social forces had pressed in upon a wholesome, affectionate country-born boy. They had failed to mold him into a dull plodder. What the boy wanted was to have some fun, and to be somebody. School offered no road, as far as he could see, to the fulfilment of his desire, therefore he had taken affairs into his own hands and found himself in conflict with the law in the form of an attendance officer. Another social force, the gang, had proved a blind alley. And while he was still under its control he found himself in the grip of the court.

The Juvenile Court

The Juvenile Court is a form of social control which modern civilization has set over ignorant and neglectful parents to insure proper guardianship in order that children may be saved to the nation. That all juvenile courts have not been true to their functions is evident by the placing of the boys of Steve's gang in the common county jail. Where this is done it is from a lack of understanding of the court's purpose as *parens patriæ*. This is being overcome in a few states, especially, by changing the law

to give the juvenile court chancery jurisdiction instead of criminal jurisdiction. This makes every child a potential ward of the state. The state assumes control only when the family breaks down; it takes care of the child who is abandoned or neglected, and establishes custody over the dependent child.

Where the old idea prevails, the state provides no qualified probation service, nor special detention quarters for the child. Neither does it provide for determining the capacity and the handicaps of the individual child by means of physical and mental examination and the study of home conditions.

Most of the largest cities and a few of the smaller ones appoint referee probation officers. These hear the cases privately in the detention home with the parents present and thereby save a large percentage of child offenders from contact with the court.

Juvenile delinquency is a challenge to the home, the school, and the whole community. The study and treatment of the behavior of the difficult child before he gets into court is the program of the Committee on Prevention of Delinquency. To this end, Child Guidance Clinics are being organized as a social experiment in those cities where the school and other social agencies are adapted to carrying out their recommendations. Another social effort of prevention which appears to be fundamental is education in parenthood; such education helps mothers and fathers to understand the personality of their children, and their emotional as well as their physical and mental needs. In one section of the country a school system is experimenting with plans to extend its jurisdiction and its equipment in order to provide special education in a twenty-four-hour school for the truant child. By this means it hopes to save the child from

stigma and contact with courts and penal institutions, and to give him the benefit of individual study, training, and guidance.

Immigration

The tradition has held that America has ever been the land of refuge for those distressed persons who have fled from old world religious, economic, and political oppression. The quota immigration law of 1921 wrote into the statute books the complete abandonment of the refuge theory and substituted restriction for selection of those who can enter the United States.

The truth is that at all times, even as early as 1636 in the Plymouth Colony, there has been a tendency on the part of those already here to exclude foreigners in order to keep the country free from outside contamination. The fact was that the quality of the early colonial settlers was uneven. The Mayflower group of 101 (numbering today 85,000 living descendants[63]) was small, as were other religiously motivated groups in comparison to those who frankly came for adventure, speculation, or improving their condition of living, or who were brought against their will. "Among these groups there were some superior stock and a great deal of poor quality. A few Royalist families came over, . . . but the population in the main was made up of merchants, tradesmen, other middle class people, redemptioners" (one who redeems himself as an immigrant by service in payment of passage), "indentured servants, deported convicts and paupers, black slaves, and kidnapped children from the slums of English cities. The average probably ranged somewhat downward from the European norm."[64] Little wonder that the colony of Pennsylvania registered, by an immigration law of 1727, this fear of so many foreigners coming in who

were ignorant of the language, etc., even though they were Nordics.

The North European Immigration

The great majority of incomers up to the closing decades of the last century differed in no fundamental way from the colonists and early settlers. The first 100,000 had come by 1842; then, owing to the conspicuous failure of the Irish potato crop and the unsettled political condition of Germany, immigrants from these lands swelled the number in 1860 to 2,598,000. After the Civil War there was renewed immigration to 1890, in the decade 1881–1890 the number was over 5,000,000.

Up to the last decade of the Nineteenth Century the settlers represented what is generally spoken of as the old immigration. The racial character was preponderantly North European in origin. During the previous one hundred years, 1790–1890, 8,000,000 had come from the United Kingdom; 5,500,000 from Germany; and 3,000,000 from the New Netherlands, France, and Switzerland. The standards of living, with some exception, were similar and the incomers readily became assimilated.

The Southern and Eastern European Immigration

Conditions in American life underwent a rapid transformation in the closing decades of the last century. The settlement of free land, which had attracted the bold pioneer who sought opportunity for independent enterprise, had been practically completed. The southeastern European took the place of the northern European in America. The steady wage of industrial America attracted those whose precarious livelihood in crowded or isolated sections of Italy, Austria, Poland, Hungary, and Russia had depressed their standard of living to the point

of destitution. That this was a marked shifting of the national source of incoming types of immigrants is evident in the following figures:

Immigrants.	1882.	1907.
"Total Northwestern European....	71.3%	17.7%[65]
Total Southeastern European.....	10.5%	75.5%"

"The trend of the nation's growth" has been in the Twentieth Century "toward Latin, Slav, and Semitic blend."[66]

Assimilation

Concentration of white immigration in the thirteen original states has delayed assimilation of the newcomer. In 1920 these thirteen states contained nearly one-half of the whole nation's body of resident immigration. In little more than 10 per cent. of the area of the whole nation, 50 per cent. of its immigrant white population had their domicile. "Sixty per cent. of the southeastern European immigration is concentrated on the Atlantic seaboard in about 10 per cent. of the nation's area."[67]

America suddenly awakened to the menace of great alien unassimilated populations. The overemphasis of racial differences which was the result of social isolation, which kept customs and standards of living distinctive, bred intolerance. The sudden overwhelming addition to city populations thrust an insurmountable task upon the socializing agencies of schools, housing, and public institutions. The 1917 selective immigration law had not successfully excluded the socially incompetent. It had exercised only a fair amount of control over the admission of the physically and the mentally diseased, the feeble-minded, the criminal, and the dependent. The financial burden of public care of immigrants who broke under the

strain of industrial life and changed social conditions became insupportable. The volume of cheap immigrant labor had threatened the nation's standard of living. The immigrant's old world values met with ridicule in his new world, and his exclusion from American home life and social intercourse prevented him from acquiring new values to take their place. The later immigrant, unaccustomed to participation in government, became easy prey to unscrupulous political leaders. These politicians are generally the only Americans, with the exception of a few social agencies, who concern themselves with the immigrant's vote, so that he has little chance to learn American ideals of citizenship. The clumsy naturalization machinery discourages many aliens from qualifying as citizens in the land of their choice. Immigrant youth has imitated the false values which on the streets and in the movies express the new America to them. Flouting the authority of old-fashioned parents, it has been easy for them to fall into the delinquent class. The proportion of lawlessness among boys and girls of the second generation of foreign-born parents is alarmingly high.

Mindful of all these undesirable aspects of the immigration problem, and forgetful of the enrichment of national life by foreign-born scientists, artists, and public servants, the nation decided that the way to check the undesirable aspects was to restrict immigration from southeastern Europe. If this had been determined upon sixty years ago it would have made it difficult for such a valuable citizen as Michael Pupin, a poor boy from Servia, to have entered this country.

The first national restrictive effort was registered in the 1921 immigration law, which admitted a 3 per cent. quota of those nationals who had been resident in the United States in 1910. This was considered not to be

sufficiently restrictive. A more determined effort to revive the preponderant northern European element in the population was realized in the recent immigration law of 1924. This restricted immigration to a 2 per cent. quota of nationals resident in the United States in 1890.

The new immigration law has not only kept the amount of admissions during the first twelve months to 294,314, which is less than one-half the number that had entered the previous fiscal year, but it has affected the national racial character; 75.6 per cent. of immigrants admitted belong to the northwestern European nations. Only 10.8 per cent. of the past year's immigrants belong to the peoples of southern and eastern Europe and Turkey.

The hasty enforcement of the new law has worked tragic results in deferring indefinitely the uniting of alien husbands, of alien fiancées, of alien elderly parents, of alien step-children of American citizens. Also, minor brothers, sisters, nephews, and nieces, of United States citizens, who are unprotected abroad and dependent for maintenance upon their relations, are prevented indefinitely from joining their families in this country. Modifications of the law have been recommended, but the present national spirit is opposed to any serious modification of the present law.

The United States needed to control its immigration, but as there is no scientific basis for determining that certain human races are inferior to others, the present form of control exercised through its immigration law is an unjust discrimination between the peoples of the earth. The selection of alien recruits to its population should be on an individual qualitative basis.

The myth of Nordic superiority is one of the most dangerous ideas in the world today; its danger is twofold: it fosters the vice of racial egotism, and it rationalizes

intolerant practices of domination and repression because it furnishes the arrogant assumption of a chosen people. Secondly, it provides an atmosphere of self-admiration and complacency which keep the nations from growing. For 149 years America has been the promised land whose material resources and charter of freedom and equality has offered unparalleled opportunity to man to realize his full worth.

Today the nation's population of 110,000,000 represents every human race. Will it succeed in the Great Experiment of harmonizing human relationships? There are certain conditions to this success, among them a deep social sense of the sacredness of human personality present in every human race and a free and generous spirit of co-operation between the different groups. For the most part America has recognized only the illiteracy and delinquency of the Steve Bolinskys. It has required conformity to rigid so-called American patterns. To realize the full value of the immigrant it will have to work with him through flexible institutions rather than for him through clumsy mechanisms. The nation must stimulate and encourage the development of his special attributes: his love for art, for sociability, his respect for the old, his loyalty to the family group, his industry, and his thrift. When these find expression instead of suppression America sees the immigrant at his best.

Chapter VIII

AN AMERICAN FAMILY IN A CHANGING WORLD

The Commissioner of the Poor looked over his glasses at Mrs. Palmer as she stood before him asking him to put her 4 children in a home. "What's become of that fine son of yourn that I seen round town in an automobile? Why don't he help out now that his father is dead? Who do you think is going to pay for your children in a home? Hardworking taxpayers who have enough to do to keep sole leather on their own children's shoes who walk and don't ride round town?"

Mrs. Palmer, frail and shrinking, lost all the courage which had been given her by a neighbor who had grown weary of looking after the children while the mother had gone to work in the mill. She had suggested Mrs. Palmer applying to the Commissioner to solve her difficulty.

Alfred Palmer, her husband, six months ago had let go of the life which had yielded nothing but situations too difficult for his body and spirit to master. His pioneer great-grandfather had made the name of Palmer respected in the township of W——. He had wrested from the wilderness a white man's homestead. He had raised a family of 8 children and administered such law as was necessary in the simple settlement. After his death his oldest son carried on the farm and supplemented his work by the knowledge of many trades. He built and operated a gristmill which served his neighbors. He and his wife and 4 sons and 3 daughters made every household article as well as tools used on the farm. He maintained the social leadership of his father's achievement and added to the

family acres. One of his sons became a minister, another a doctor, a third was elected to a county office, while his fourth son carried on the farm. This one found little use for the trades taught him by his father. Large scale manufacture had taken over the business of supplying at less cost, than could home production, wagons, farming implements, and household articles, and even the clothing of the family. Neither did his neighbors have further use for his mill. They had changed their crops because of the overwhelming competition of the new western grain fields, and those who continued to farm turned to labor-saving grass and cattle raising. The farm without the old-time supplementary industries did not yield enough to support the family in its former prosperous condition. Bit by bit the land was sold off until only 75 acres was left. All but one of his 5 children left the countryside, only Alfred stayed on. In spite of the family's disapproval he married Alice Barton, whose great-grandfather had also been one of the early settlers. Her family had not the social status of the Palmers, however, and in each generation there had been one who was either "queer or foolish." She brought little with her to the rundown Palmer farm but a pretty face and an adoration for Alfred. Children came thick and fast, and filled to overflowing the dilapidated farmhouse. Its sagging roof appeared to be the despairing gesture of an old house, to do more than it had done by a family who now gave it no repair or paint.

Alfred could not hire help at current wages, nor did he have the cash to replace stock and implements when they wore out. Finally the old homestead was sold for its mortgages and Alfred moved his wife and 5 children, 3 had died, in a neighbor's borrowed wagon to the nearest town. There he found a job in the mill, but an attack of influenza left him with tuberculosis. He stayed home

and his wife then became the wage earner in the mill. Alfred Jr., who had been allowed to stay home from the country school's short sessions for every possible excuse, also entered the mill at fourteen years of age. It was lawful for him to work in that state, even though he knew little more than a third-grade child. He and his mother were the breadwinners for four years. The home and children under Alfred's waning strength lapsed into utter deterioration. The second child, Ada, aged thirteen, was so feeble-minded she could do nothing to help her father; in fact, she required as much attention as the youngest child of five. She was constantly in trouble with the neighbors' children, and if left alone in the house she would eat all the food raw or cooked, or build fires on the floor. The 3 other children were dull and delicate, only going to school when they had shoes and when the weather was dry.

Finally Alfred gave up the struggle for life and his wife was left with their 5 children, whose Palmer name represented the sole visible inheritance from a fine old family. It was then that Alfred Jr. declared he was through, "No more slave's life for him at the mill from 7 in the morning until 6 at night every day in the week." First he had thought it was fine to work and get a pay envelope every week, but when it all had to go for a home that wasn't a home, he was going to do as he pleased. With these words he had flung out of the house after his father's funeral. The contents of his last pay envelope he paid down as a first instalment on a second-hand Ford, and after flourishing around the streets of the town for a couple of days, he had taken to the road and had disappeared from the county.

When Mrs. Palmer returned with her brood from the encounter with the Poor Commissioner, the resourceful

neighbor was ready with another suggestion. In the meantime she had been visiting, and she had learned about the Mother's Aid County Committee, which made regular monthly grants of money to the mothers of fatherless, dependent children. These were called Mothers' Pensions. She wrote a letter for Mrs. Palmer to the committee, and in response a visitor came to see the family and learned the history as given above.

The woman and children were examined physically and mentally. Ada was found to be an imbecile and was placed in the state institution, but not until after she had been victimized by a boy in the neighborhood. The three other children were found to be predisposed to tuberculosis and were sent to a preventorium. After a year and a half they were returned to their mother, who was not only awarded a pension of $60.00 a month, but received the help and guidance of a dietitian in preparing and serving nourishing food. The county committee maintained careful oversight not only over the home, but over the children's progress in school. By such means the county of B—— in the state of M—— is giving every opportunity to the scions of the Palmer family to develop as much as they possess of the good old stock.

Migration from Country to City

Since pioneer days the internal migration in the United States from East to West, from the country to the city, has been due to the spread of industrialism. The modern cities which have grown up around the chimney stacks of factories and power houses have drained the countryside of its vigorous and ambitious manhood. Not only has the rural population, both white and black, been depleted to recruit city industry, but families have abandoned farm life, and have moved to mining and

lumbering centers where their labor supplies the raw material for the manufactured product. The competition of large-scale manufacture centered in cities and towns has limited the countryside industry to working the land, an industry which, generally speaking, is no longer profitable except on a large scale and by utilizing expensive machinery. The difficulty of marketing products from scattered farms over poor roads, and the comparative drudgery of rural living as contrasted to city life, has quickened the exodus of those families whose stability had maintained the social institutions, including church and school.

The tenant population, which has taken the place of the old substantial resident farmer, has been unhomogeneous and unstable in character. On this account community enterprises have suffered. The remnants of the old families such as the Palmers often deteriorate and become social problems where their forbears have been the first citizens. The city has attracted the ambitious, capable members and has left the incompetent to wrestle with the problem of making the old farm pay in the face of difficulties only to be met by a high degree of intelligence, special training, and co-operation. That the problem of rural life is being met by men and women of such caliber, who combine in co-operative enterprise, is evident in sections where there is agricultural prosperity in different parts of the country. Where there has been improvement of a situation which has assumed the proportion of a national problem, it has been due to the deliberate application of scientific study and treatment. Agricultural colleges, granges, and the intelligent farmer himself, have organized and are appropriating the best in science for the improvement of production, management, marketing, and farm life. It is doubtless true, how-

ever, that the agricultural depression quickened by the war will not be overcome for a long time. As recently as 1922 the migration from American farms exceeded migration to them by 1,120,000. The 1920 census showed that America today, with 51.4 per cent. urban population and 48.6 per cent. agricultural, has thereby changed from an agricultural to an industrial nation. Even life in the country has become urbanized in character. The one-time farm homestead which sufficed to provide occupation, training, and recreation for young and old no longer satisfies their needs. The daily newspaper, telephone, and the automobile has brought the farmer and his family in touch with urban life, and nothing less than urban standards suffice the man and the woman living in the country today.

Women in Industry

The influence of industry has not only penetrated into the manner of life on the farm and drained from it most of its virile youth, but it is largely responsible for the changed status of woman. Economically independent, now that she can find support for herself outside of the home, woman is marching in increasing numbers into gainful occupation. Again, the city is augmented by the single woman who finds there that opportunity for economic independence which the country seldom offers. Also when fathers drop out, mothers find their way to the nearest mill or store which offers a wage in exchange for unskilled labor. Alfred Palmer dropped out of family support into the social disease of tuberculosis, a disease which contributes 92.3 per cent. of deaths per 100,000 of the population, in spite of the public health movement which has made it possible for great aggregations of people to survive in crowded cities.[68] The contracted housing

and confinement of factory labor, together with poor living, intensified the unfitness of Alfred Palmer to adapt himself to a city pace.

Until recent years the entrance of women into industry, and today 24 per cent. of all women in the United States are in gainful occupation, has been generally attributed to the desire for purely personal benefit or to the pleasure which might come to an independent wage earner. This belief has been the excuse for the payment of a wage which has not permitted a decent standard of living to the single woman wage earner, let alone providing for her dependents, or the family of a married woman. Such inadequate payment is an injustice, particularly when compared with the wages paid to men. Men's wages are based on the status of the married man, and yet about 35 per cent. of all men are single according to the census of 1920.

Study the single woman and find out what she does with her weekly wage.

The Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor has given reliable information from a study carried on in 1923 into The Share of Wage Earning Women in Family Support.

In the four industries of cotton textiles, men's ready-made clothing, glass and silk, the contribution of single daughters to the family income represented a larger proportion of their earnings than that of single sons. "Moreover, the contributions of the women very nearly equalled their earnings, in only one industry falling below 90 per cent., and in the silk industry amounting to 96 per cent. of their earnings. The men's contributions, however, were approximately four-fifths of their earnings. In only one case, the silk industry, it exceeded that proportion." In another study of a typical big plant it was

found that "59 per cent. of the single daughters and only 34.6 per cent. of the single sons contributed all of their earnings." "Of course the amounts the women were able to contribute were less than the men because of their lower earnings, but so far as extent of earnings contributed is concerned, single women were making greater sacrifices and to a far greater extent were ceding their financial independence and sinking their economic individuality in the larger interests of the family group."[69]

What are these wages which single women share so generously with dependent mothers, invalid sisters, or growing families for which their fathers' wages are inadequate?

In New York State women workers in factories in 1923 were earning only half the average weekly wage earned by men in the same factories. The average woman's weekly wage for the month of June, 1923, was $16.50. In the unionized trades women were receiving the highest average wage, for instance in the clothing industry, $25.00 a week; but in the glove factories, fruit, pressing and canning, their earnings averaged as low as $9.00 to $11.00 a week. In the laundries earnings were less than $13.00 per week. This was at a time when it took $16.00 a week for a single woman to live with no margin for savings against old-age dependency.[70]

That low wages for women prevail all over the country is proved by further studies, one of which was made in Kansas in 1920, the high-peak period of wages and prices in the United States. Of 4300 women, it was found that 20 per cent. were receiving less than $9.00 a week average wage and more than 50 per cent. were receiving less than $12.00 per week. One half the women in the Five-and-Ten-Cent Stores received less than $8.10 per week. Of these Kansas women, who in such large proportions were

receiving less than enough to maintain the well being of one person, 37.3 per cent. contributed all their earnings to their families, and only 12 per cent. contributed nothing at all to the family support of which they were members.[71]

The menace to the state of large numbers of women deprived of the essentials which maintain health and economic independence has called into being nine State Minimum Wage Commissions to regulate the wages of women. The last few years has seen the Minimum Wage Law of the District of Columbia and that of Arizona declared unconstitutional, because the jurists who have rendered these decisions have held to the Eighteenth Century individualistic doctrine. They argue that the worker possesses a natural right to exercise freedom of contract. In reality, this is a freedom to starve and to perish because of unrestricted exploitation of the individual by corporate depersonalized capital. As a matter of fact, in the states where there is no protective legislation for women, where the woman is free to exercise her right of individual contract there are found the longest hours, the lowest wages, and the most unsanitary conditions in industry.

What of the 23 per cent. of all women wage earners who are married and whose numbers are increasing? It is not surprising to learn that with few exceptions family interests absorb their total wage. The earnings of the wife and mother are seldom as large as those of the other wage earners, but they are essential to the family's maintenance. When the wage-earning married woman is the mother of young children her strength is strained to the breaking point by the double task of motherhood and wage earner. In a silk mill city studied in 1920 72 per cent. of bread-winning women had children, and

three-fourths of these children were little tots only six. These mothers chose to work at night, because if they were absent during the day tragic accidents befell their neglected children. After toiling all night they would return to wash, cook, clean for the family, and snatch three or four hours of interrupted sleep. But in order that they and their children may have bread and shelter they must work, for these mothers contribute from one-third to one-fourth of the family income. The fathers of these families, working steadily, earn $500 less than the amount required yearly for shelter, food, fuel, and clothes for themselves, their wives, and their children.[72]

Married women are valuable economic units. It is, therefore, a legitimate charge on production that they should receive maternity care, that they should be prohibited from night work, from heavy lifting, and from contact with industrial poisons, especially lead poisons, to which women are particularly susceptible. The struggle for existence exhausts the energies of underpaid mothers and fathers. Their children run wild and their habits and morals are shaped by the streets in which they live. They grow up to prey on society, as society by depriving them of nurture has preyed on them. It is such homes, neglected in spite of toiling mothers and fathers, that thrust upon society the burden of the dependent and the delinquent.

Mothers Pensions, or Public Grants to Mothers of Dependent Children

The function of motherhood is not entirely disregarded today, however, by the people of the United States. The nation has awakened to the menace of neglected, fatherless children whose mothers were forced to earn the entire income. The Washington Conference in 1909

went on record that it was the right of every child to be reared in a family home, which cannot be provided except on the basis of an adequate income. Since then the Mothers' Pension movement has swept the states. The assistance of its laws serves in the popular mind as a substitute for social insurance and is without the stigma of public charity. The money is paid to the mother as her right for service rendered to the community, and the quality of her guardianship is assured where intelligent guidance is furnished by the state.

After a decade almost every state is administering Mothers' Pensions. The county is the usual executive under state supervision, and by setting up separate machinery, such as Child Welfare committees, there is no identity with the poor relief system. Under liberal laws the status of destitution of mother and children does not determine the grant. In some of the California counties almost half the families own their homes. Counties in other states also adopt this intelligent policy, because they regard the assistance as a form of prevention of family breakdown rather than as a remedy for poverty already experienced.

It is fortunate that this extensive use of public moneys for mothers' pensions coincides with the development of the scientific method of family social work. Scientific budgeting on the basis of the need of the individual family is the common form of determining the amount required in order that the grant will be as adequate as public funds permit.

Several states, together with the larger cities, utilize the trained social worker, the public health nurse, and the dietitian to make the investment of public funds yield returns in family welfare. Where the administration is most successful it is because qualified family service has

been used to advise the mother in the rearing of her children.

The public's confidence in this scheme of family conservation is shown by the enormous sums invested for this purpose by several states, counties, and cities. In 1924, the Board of Child Welfare of the City of New York cared for 28,328 children and 10,323 mothers in their own homes, at a cost of $4,760,916.80. During this board's first year, 42 per cent. of its children became dependent because the fathers died of tuberculosis. In Pennsylvania from 1914 to 1916, of the children aided 90 per cent. of the fathers died before reaching forty-five years of age, and the majority was stricken by communicable disease.

Under Widows' Pensions administrations, which are becoming increasingly efficient, the children of these fathers receive regular physical examinations in order to establish their health. The children's school records are followed, and these show that these children often attain promotion more quickly than the average; this was the case with Mothers' Pension children in Philadelphia. The children are also studied and helped in preparing themselves for suitable vocations. When they come to working age they are aided to secure the job which has a future and for which they are best fitted. Thus the state discharges its increasing social functions. It becomes a family builder, erecting from the stuff of its human stock and culture a structure which will resist the storms of life and which will raise itself to higher levels.

Chapter IX

THE FAMILY STANDARD OF LIVING

The family in a changing world has come through the shocks and strains of social upheavals with its integrity impaired to be sure, but no satisfactory substitute has been found for its primary functions.

What Function Remains to the Family

The family continues to be the training center for little children, and a physical and spiritual base from which youth goes forth, fortified in body and spirit to adventure into new and untried associations. The civilization of steam, electricity, and controlled waves of the air requires man to have a power of control over his physical, nervous, mental, and spiritual energies which may only be achieved through prolonged nurture. We have found that for the most part the placid serenity of a civilization based on agriculture has given place to the exciting restlessness of an industrial civilization. Human energy has been released, for the most part, from waiting on nature's slow processes and has been speeded up to keep pace with the power-driven machine which is the instrument of his release. There is no question but that life has been enriched thereby, provided, and this is the all-important condition, that human values hold their supremacy. In order that the superior qualities shall dominate over the mediocre characteristics of man, the period of the child's economic dependence must be prolonged in order to admit of the gradual unfolding of his powers and their satisfactory adjustment.

The household, except in limited agricultural sections, is a thing of the past where joint production not only satisfied the economic needs of the family group, but supplied vocational training and recreation for the children. Industry takes the father into the mills and marts of commerce for such a long portion of the waking hours that he has little time for companionship with his children. One by one the processes of a machine age have taken from the mother many of her housewifely occupations, such as spinning, weaving, often of baking and of laundering. In the past the children had taken their part in these domestic operations. The need of food, raiment, and shelter pressed them into the knowing and doing of these essential processes, and they needed no mechanical toy to satisfy their curiosity to see the wheels go round, or to gratify their desire to make something by themselves.

With the gas stove, the electric light, and other labor-saving devices, there has come a release from the old drudgery. But the parallel advance in demands for the care of health, personal direction, and culture of the child frequently exhaust the energy of the mother living on a moderate income. Ninety-five per cent. of American homes depend solely on the mother as housewife, for extra household service comes high. In addition to housework, there is often the strain and stress of crowded living.

To be sure, labor-saving devices, not forgetting canned foods, will supply the bare necessities of the city home for the wage-earning mother or the mother careless of the cultural needs of her children. Conscientious, devoted mothers of little children in the ordinary modern household work twelve to fourteen hours a day in order to maintain the existing standard of superior living. And this in spite of the fact that the public school has extended

its function, so that it relieves the mother of the care of children over six, during a large portion of the day. The function of the mother in converting the base metal of income into family welfare should be recognized and requited by a more tangible reward than Mothers' Day and other sentimental effusions.

After a mother has rendered devoted care to the tender critical period of her children's early years, if she is still vigorous, she may then avail herself of the changed conditions and may use her freedom in participating in outside interests. Public affairs, business and professional life are open to her. These outside activities enrich her life and make her the more companionable and helpful to her husband and children, provided they do not consume all of her energies and leave nothing for home supervision, child culture, and reviving recreation. Such a home may be successful only when the joint income of the father and mother are sufficient to pay for skilled services, which satisfactorily supply those customarily rendered by the mother. The mother must in this case possess managerial skill, and even for the richly endowed the double role is difficult of achievement. Very different is the home when the mother of little children is obliged to become a wage earner, either to supplement the inadequate wage of the father, to supply the family's sole income when the father is physically disabled, or when he has deserted the family. Her wage seldom gives a margin with which to pay for substitute or supplementary service. These mothers enter gainful occupation, not because they want to, but because their children need food and clothes. This has been pointed out in Chapter VIII. In these homes little children of tender age do not experience that physical care, the persistent habit training, the serene atmosphere, the comforting of wounded feelings,

and the patient handling of outbreaks, which would be their experience in normal family life.

The very development of the personality of the child depends upon the mothering and fathering in a home which provides the material necessities of life and a certain amount of leisure to the parents. Therefore, it would seem that gainful occupation, which enables mothers to supplement family income, must accept her services on a part-time basis much more than is the present custom in industry and in business.

In many homes where there is an abundance of material things, but where the father or mother fail one another in emotional satisfaction or shrink from the responsibilities of married life, divorce frequently ensues. In the United States divorce has increased to the proportion of one to every seven marriages.

In these broken homes there is seldom found that peaceful emotional security which is so essential to children and for lack of which abnormal behavior is often the result.

The size of families is decreasing to a marked degree. The last United States census gives the average of 4.3 persons to a family. While the birth rate of foreign born families is three times as high as that of native families, the second generation of foreign born parents is producing fewer children and is approaching the native American size of family.

Recent studies of college-bred parents show that their families are small, but that the death rate of their children under a year is three to five times less than the infant death rate in the original registration area throughout the country. Of greater significance is the trend toward an increase of marriage among student alumni and the slight increase in the average number of children for each marriage.

Social Control

While birth rates are lower in the United States at present than formerly, more children live to grow up. During the last twenty years the infant mortality has been cut 70 per cent. This decrease is due to the improved standard of living, as well as to the maternity and infant care provided by public and private health organizations. Health service is also being extended to conserve the physical powers of the preschool child in addition to the established systems of medical inspection and school nursing. An increasing number of states are following the child into industry, and are exercising supervision over his health as long as he is under the jurisdiction of child labor laws.

By slow degrees intelligence is coming to exercise control over the life of the individual and is concerning itself with the quality rather than with the quantity of human product.

Changed social attitudes regard the duty of government to be, in addition to the maintenance of the state, the protection of the citizen against certain scientifically determined hazards to health, such as communicable disease, bad housing, impure water and food, and injurious working conditions. Furthermore society recognizes other essential elements of human welfare to be education, recreation, gainful occupation, and free exercise of the chosen religion. In the realm of health and education the state has set up certain minimum standards below which it is hazardous to the state itself to permit its citizens to exist.

It is apparent that the state has taken over many functions which previously pertained to the family, but it is equally apparent that society demands that the family shall furnish child nurture for a longer period than formerly.

Old and New Values

If the human quality of personality is to be realized in the coming generation, then the period of childhood upon which new value is placed must have an appropriate training center. In the experience of the human race normal family life has been found to be the greatest single agent fulfiling this purpose. Health education, previously mentioned, is effectively supplementing the family's physical care of children, and now the psychologist is beginning to reinforce the family's function of stabilizing and expanding the emotional life of the child. He is warning the parents that children suffer from over-concentrated love and attention quite as much as from too much severity and sternness. But the mother and father function of creating family life is recognized as so vital that new programs of education include the teaching of parents that they may more adequately meet the central responsibility of the home. While the new requirements which the modern family must meet are being considered, the contribution of the past must not be overlooked. The family tree which has its roots in the stock of the primitive past not only supplies native capacity from its sources, but its generations of culture have furnished nurture which gives quality to intelligence and character.

The bonds of economic dependence and affection which held the primitive family together still prevail, and today we may test the integrity of the modern family by asking the question, Are the strong taking care of the weak members?

The sense of responsibility was intensified in the patriarchal form of family life, and its group experience of co-operation, of individual adjustment to the family group have contributed to the training function of the family. Children who learn consideration of others, who

understand the necessity of give and take in order to get along with any degree of satisfaction in the family group, are so much the better qualified to live harmoniously in the larger group of the community.

These permanent ethical values which have been developed and perpetuated, persist in the modern family, though in very much modified application. Where fossilized custom has misappropriated them to unduly restrict the individuality of woman and the child, then they should be reappraised and adapted in accordance with the heightened appreciation of personality.

The right of woman to individuality and the enlargement of her personality by participation in affairs outside the home is a new value apprehended in modern life. The norm of marital relations is no longer, except amongst backward peoples, that of obedience and servitude of the wife to her husband. Even the later development of romantic love is being transformed into a comradeship of equality between man and wife. Sex relations are coming out from the smoke screen of concealment into frank recognition. The double standard is giving place to the single standard of morals.

The norm of parental relations with children is no longer based on unreasonable obedience to constituted authority. The prevailing absence of any authority must be substituted by the ideal relation between parent and child: that of children's loyalty and affection rendered because of recognition of inherent authority in the parent. Only a beginning has been made in the education of parents for their work in improving the physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual environment of their children.

The modern family cannot successfully extend and perfect its forces in order to produce and train children of quality without an adequate wage or income. Economic

science convinces us of this fundamental basis of welfare by means of estimated costs of living and the budgeting of family incomes.

Individual Standards of Living

Why do men and women work? For fear of want which may overtake them and their dependents, from unemployment, ill health, and old age: for satisfaction of Wants—To be Well—To Have—To Count Amongst Their Fellows—To Know—To Feel Beauty—To Work—To Produce—To Get Into the Scheme of Things.

Social and economic environment, earned income and capacity for its distribution, determine the measure of wants obtained and are expressed in the individual's standard of living.

What will determine the inevitable questions? What are luxuries? What are necessities? Generally speaking, luxuries are those goods which have no power to restore the person's energy, but rather deplete the supply that already exists. Expenditure of income then, not to be extravagant, must represent investment in those commodities which conserve, restore or increase physical, mental, and spiritual energy.

It is, therefore, clear that in order to distinguish between necessities and luxuries, other than such obvious goods as jewels and caviare, the physical, mental, and spiritual needs of the individual must be considered. A season ticket for the opera may be purchased as a necessity by a musician or writer instead of a stylish overcoat. Whereas a salesman must buy the overcoat in order to present a smart appearance. We would all agree that a family car for working people is a better investment than draperies and upholstery. Also an occasional theater and a supper party for ordinary people are necessary stimuli,

but too late evenings amount to a dissipation of energy instead of a conservation of energy.

On the other hand, every one can cite an example of the sacrifice of generally accepted necessities for what may be regarded as luxuries; such as a working girl going without the proper food, shelter, and savings for the sake of purchasing a fur coat, sometimes on the instalment plan, which mortgages her weekly wage for months. "What is the use of living if you don't count for something and attract attention?" has been her determining value of life's satisfactions, and the coat is therefore a necessity to her. With no assured place in the community, the fur coat gives her status and represents investment for future returns. Society itself has given this perverted idea of means to obtain recognition of self.

Self-sacrificing parents deprive themselves of obvious necessities that their children may count for something, that they may know, that they may feel beauty in a measure which has not been their own experience. To the overworked, underpaid men and women, their standard of living yields no satisfaction except to be and to save against an uncertain old age.

Economists tell us that that routine of life which makes for efficiency is when the day is complete in itself. The rewards of each day should come within the twenty-four hours. Periods of life should not be given solely to either production or to consumption. The American scheme of life is practically committed to continuous hard work day after day, deferring the enjoyment of leisure until old age incapacitates one for keeping the swift pace of business and industry. Frequently when the time arrives for taking life more easily it finds the worker used up physically, or if not physically impoverished, with mind and spirit so stunted by neglect that he has little power

of enjoyment. He has developed no outside interests. Even the man who has acquired a competence, because he has excluded everything but gainful toil in his day of vigor, presents a picture of impoverished old age, in that he does not know how to use his money or his time in such a way that they will yield satisfactory returns to make life worth living. The more normal life is to be found in dividing every day so as to permit of eight hours of work, eight hours of home, social, and civic life, and eight hours of sleep. This idea is the basis for the agitation of an eight-hour working day, and of a wage which represents a living wage. This wage must admit of savings and should be supplemented by social insurance so that the workingman will be protected against his fears of unemployment, accident, sickness, and old age.

The National War Labor Board declared "the right of all workers, including common laborers, to a living wage is hereby established." The American Federation of Labor claims that it is labor's right to participate in a more just and equitable share of products of industry than that implied by the term a living wage.

What Determines a Living Wage

There is a general acceptance of four different levels upon which individuals and families may exist.

The *poverty level* represents uncertain and impermanent support. The workers draw upon their own capital of health, clothing, household goods, and other resources. Therefore the industry which pays a poverty wage is parasitical upon society. Eventually society has to fill the breach made in the wage earner's resources of health and possessions which he is unable to conserve or replace from the monetary reward of his toil.

The *minimum subsistence level* represents a sufficient

amount on which to maintain persons or families physically, but furnishes no margin for meeting emergencies of illness, and nothing for savings against old age, or expenditures for health conservation, dental work, or recreation. Neither does it permit of purchase of that kind of clothing which contributes to personal hygiene and self-respect.

Individuals or families who exist at this level are easily pushed down to the poverty level when they experience protracted ill health of body or mind, unemployment, or when death takes the chief wage earner.

These two standards of living on which hundreds and thousands of workers exist thrust an amount of dependency on society which costs millions of dollars.

More precise knowledge will convince us that this is true. Men who are today sixty years old have worked through a period of years when, until the last six years, most wages have been too low for savings if the man was married and had two or more children. If he had not so many dependent upon him, he was fortunate not to have the amount his foresight had put aside swept away by sickness. It is too frequently assumed that the lack of savings is due to the happy-go-lucky shiftlessness of the poor. In 1890, when the sixty-year-old man was enjoying the youthful vigor of twenty-five years of age if he worked in a factory, or in iron or steel or on the railways, he was receiving a wage, along with a half or three-quarters of his fellow workmen of less than $600 a year, which represented bare subsistence for himself and his wife and 3 children. Ten years later he, along with the others, would not be receiving any more, so nothing could be set aside for sickness. It was at this date (1902) that one of the captains of industry remarked in protest against the government's concern over the coal strike for better

wages, "The rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for . . . by the Christian men to whom God has given control of the property interests of this country." After another decade this workingman would be forty-five, past his working prime but as yet with nothing in sight for approaching old age. By this time the 3 children would be earning and contributing to the home. If there were no illnesses, no deaths, no prolonged periods of unemployment, the man could begin to save, and it would be likely that the children would soon marry.

How much this man could save for himself and his wife's old age is apparent when we learn that two-thirds of the heads of families in twelve of the basic industries were paid less than $550 a year in 1912. Over a million workers were earning no more than $400 per year, and yet these incomes had to meet a cost of living for five people which amounted to $649 per year—a sum which purchased only the minimum of the most essential necessities.[73]

Ten years later, when in 1920 wages approximated a more adequate income, many employers sighed for what they considered "the good old times." This represented the period before 1915, before the World War affected labor supply and food prices and thus caused wages to rise.

Let us examine into the standard of living enjoyed by the ordinary workingman during "the good old times."

In the textile mills of Kensington, Pa. (1913–14), Mr. H. worked as a hosiery finisher, aged twenty-eight. His wife was twenty-six and they had 2 little daughters aged six and two respectively and a son two months old. A man boarder paid $4.50 per week.

"This family had a struggle to get along. Both Mr. and Mrs. H. are Americans. As they are highly respected

and enjoy a good reputation for honesty, it is not difficult for them to obtain credit to tide them over hard times. Mrs. H. is a careful manager, and she does her best to keep expenditures within income. She makes her own and her children's clothes and adds a little to the family income by sewing for others. Mr. H. is an earnest Bible student, and is active in religious work. He often conducts meetings at a small mission.

"Mr. H. seldom earned more than $10 per week; during the preceding year his weekly earnings had usually been less than that amount because of layoffs in the mill. The family rents the rooms above a store in the mill district, paying $8 per month. The flat consists of a parlor, a room which is used as a kitchen, and two large sleeping rooms, one of which has a bath-tub. The cooking is done on a two-burner hot plate, and the rooms are heated by a small coal stove.

The average weekly food expenditure was $6.20.

For the year the father's earnings were	$256.00
The man boarder paid	234.00
The mother's sewing paid	30.00
Gifts	20.00
Total income	540.00

Expenditures for the year:

Rent, fuel, and light	$123.00
Food	338.00
Household expenses	20.50
Clothing	36.40
Medical attention	5.00
Insurance	20.80
Reading matter	1.00
Carfare	5.00
Recreation	4.00
Pocket money	1.50
Total	555.20

"This family's budget is below that of any recognized fair standard. In spite of Mrs. H.'s efforts to keep expenditures within income, she did not succeed, but came out with an indebtedness of $15.20 at the end of the year."[74]

This couple were in their highest productive age, both young. With 3 little children to support, even honest faithful toil gave them a bare living only, and that with a debt attached. What outlook did the future hold for this hosiery weaver and his wife and 3 small children?

In the same industrial center a higher skilled man, a Brussels carpet weaver, who earned the then unusually high weekly wage of $22 per week; a man of industrious character who spent and saved intelligently with but a wife and one child to support, after thirty years of toil had saved but $500 for old age.[75] One major operation connected with illness would wipe out this sum. To such a narrow margin is the working man and his family clinging on the brink of the precipice of disaster, into which they may fall because of ill health, accident, or prolonged unemployment. "At least half of the aged for whom financial assistance was provided by certain Boston social agencies during a period of five years (1919–23) had been during their period of maximum efficiency in moderate circumstances, or even well-to-do and wealthy." "Of the 819 people studied—only 43.7 per cent. had been legitimate prospective applicants for old age poor relief. That is, 25 per cent. had never had large enough incomes to provide even a minimum subsistence, and 18 per cent. had been able to provide for themselves and their families merely the bare necessities of life."[76]

If working people of stable habits, sound bodies and minds, live so near the verge of poverty, what of those who have started the battle of life with the handicap of weak

heredity? They are the folk who make up the large institution population.

The problem of old age dependency grows more acute, with industry pushing down the employable age. It is now below fifty-five and in some industries it is approaching forty-five, and yet the span of life has increased. Precarious employment is the lot of millions of men and women beyond the age of fifty years in industrial pursuits.[77]

Several states are taking cognizance of the misery entailed because of the inadequacy of society's care of its veterans of industry. That relic of the middle ages, the almshouse, is not only a wasteful method, but frequently an inhumane and inefficient agency to provide for aged men and women whose unremitting toil has yielded nothing for old age. The history of some hundreds of inmates of an almshouse was looked up. One time employers were interviewed and they testified that practically all were good, honest, faithful men. They had quit work because of old age, sickness, or unemployment. Old Age Pensions are a more worthy and decent security for the worker's declining years than the almshouse. There confinement attaches the stigma of pauper and frequently it does not furnish proper care to the completely incapacitated. European countries have long ago made the Old Age Pension the method of social care, and recently a few states in this country have taken the first steps to adopt this democratic form of social aid to old age.

The *decency and health level* is a standard of living which not only maintains a family physically, but furnishes sufficient margin to enable the family of five to house itself generally in five rooms, or in the more expensive cities in four; to purchase food representing adequate nutritive value and to buy respectable clothing. In

addition, it permits of some savings, recreation, health conservation, and sundries. Such a standard for a family of five costs from $1500 to $2000 a year.

This is what labor has been demanding since it awakened to the real situation, and as society is realizing the human and hence the national hazard of a lower standard of living, it is beginning to accept this living standard in theory as necessary for the whole population. The achievement is obviously more difficult of attainment.

Social workers should have precise knowledge of the minimum cost of items which yield in quality those essentials which maintain decency and health of families and which satisfy those legitimate desires by which personality itself is realized.

What is the quality and cost of the usual items which income must purchase in order to maintain family welfare?

Estimated costs of living, such as appear on the following pages, furnish a general criterion only of the cost of items. They are serviceable detailed estimates by which to measure the approximate cost of living of individual families in the $1500 to $2000 class incomes. The family status, personal tastes, geographical location, local prices will determine the actual budget plan of probable income and expenditure during a given time.

Social agencies, both under public and private auspices, have been aided by economists to utilize the scientific budgetary systems in their work with families. The Estimated Monthly Budget in Eastern and Midwestern Cities for a Self-supporting Family of Five Members on the following page represents the average taken from studies made by the foremost social agencies in four cities.

ESTIMATED MONTHLY BUDGET FOR A SELF-SUPPORTING FAMILY. FATHER, MOTHER, CHILD OF THIRTEEN, CHILD OF TEN, CHILD OF SEVEN, IN EASTERN AND MIDWESTERN CITIES, 1925

Rent $40.00

Three bedrooms, kitchen, and if possible a living room, dry, clean, in good repair, above ground, one or more windows each to the open air. Toilet facilities within the apartment in good condition. Running water, bathtub, if possible. No more than 2 persons sleeping in one room with cross ventilation between door or transom and window. Fire protection. Outdoor play space in neighborhood for children.

Food 45.85

It must provide those amounts determined by dietetic standards of protein, fuel, mineral salts, and other substances which will maintain health and establish growth. A diet to tempt the appetite and to furnish adequate nourishment needs to be varied and to be adapted to family tastes. (See Dietary List, page 239.)

Clothing and Toilet Articles 24.90

Garments should furnish protection against the weather—cold, heat, and wet. Should be sufficient for cleanliness, and shoes should keep the feet dry. Clothes project and partially represent the social self, therefore they should be of a quality and make that express self-respect and taste.

Fuel and Light 12.50

Should be that kind which is the most easily procured—coal, gas, electricity, kerosene. Should keep living rooms at comfortable temperature and give sufficient light for reading, studying, cooking, sewing, etc. Soft coal used for heating and cooking, average amount for the month with its seasonal demands, 1⅓ tons. Gas for lighting and cooking in the summer.

Household Supplies and Replacements Kitchen utensils and dishes must be sufficient and in good condition. Bed linen must provide 3 sheets and 3 pillow slips for each bed. Coverings must be clean and warm. Furniture must supply some comfort. Cleaning materials must be included.	$8.50
Care of Health—Doctor, Dentist, Medicines	8.00
Savings and Insurance	12.00
Extras, including Recreation, Organization and Church Dues, Carfares, Incidentals	9.00
Total Monthly	$160.75
Total Yearly	$1929.00

The University of Montana in 1923 made an interesting study of the estimated cost of living on the minimum of health and comfort standard for the family of an unskilled workman, consisting of father, mother, a boy of twelve, a girl of six, and a boy of two.

This was done in response to the desire of the Missoula Chamber of Commerce to learn how much it would cost to maintain the type of workmen which proposed new industries would attract to the city.

The purpose of the study, as carried on by the University, was not to base the estimate on how much it would take to keep the workman and his family alive but on the cost of making him and his family good citizens. It was recognized from the start that any lower standard of living than this idea demanded would make of the workmen and his family liabilities to the city rather than assets.

The quality of the several items in the following estimate is similar to the previous estimate.*

* See Survey, February 15, 1924, for further details.

	Items of expenditure.	Amounts for the year.	Totals, per cent.
Living	Food	$607.72	
	Clothing	314.85	
	Rent	360.00	
	Light, water, and fuel	169.65	87.9
Expenses	Furniture and house	.....	
	Furnishings	73.23	
	Sundries	55.97	
Accumulation	Endowment	50.00	
	Life	10.00	
	Children's insurance	15.00	4.2
Welfare	Health	70.00	
	Religion and benevolences.	35.00	7.9
	Amusements and recreations	18.90	
	Education	17.82	
	Total	$1798.14	

Scrutiny of these minimum costs for the quality and quantity of items enumerated will convince anyone that these may only be obtained within the specified amounts by the exercise of intelligence, and admit of no extra expenditures such as special diet for depleted conditions and prolonged illnesses.

The *minimum comfort level* is that which is usually designated as the American standard of living. It affords more ample housing and of a better type, larger amount of clothing and of better quality, a greater variety of food, and more adequate insurance with a wider latitude for recreation and sundry expenses.

This is beyond the reach of many business people and most wage earners in industry, even with the prevailing higher incomes.

The turn in the tide of wages came in 1914, and up to 1920 there were sudden and great increases due to the

mounting cost of living and the shortage of labor. Prices and wages at that time reached their peak, but this period was followed by a business depression which brought wages and prices down to some extent.

The general level of wages has, however, attained a plane which enables the American wage earner to live on a higher level than he has ever experienced before, but that Before—"the good old times"—represented a Poverty Level for which the nation is paying a heavy cost in broken-down men and women and undernourished and impoverished childhood.

The statement is frequently made that wages are now three times greater than in 1889. Even so, what do these money wages yield in real wages?[78]

Year.	Average, full-time annual wages of factory hands.	Index of retail food prices on 1913 base.	Value at 1913 prices of food purchasable with annual wages.
1889	$444.80	70	$635
1899	426.20	68	627
1904	477.30	76	628
1909	518.00	89	582
1914	579.70	102	568
1919	1161.90	186	625

This diminished return in actual food value is due to the depreciation of the 1913 dollar, which is now (1925) worth 58 cents, and also the higher costs of food, which, as a matter of fact, have risen less rapidly than many other commodities.

These real wage values of the factory hand compared unfavorably with the income (in terms of 1913 dollars) of the average person gainfully occupied in the United States estimated by the National Bureau of Economic

Research in "Incomes in the Various States" and "Income in the United States."

The average income of the person gainfully occupied is shown in current dollars and the improvement in his economic status is shown by purchasing power in terms of 1913 dollars in the following table:[79]

Year.	Income per person gainfully occupied (current dollars).	Income per person gainfully occupied (1913 dollars).
1909	791	823
1910	809	829
1911	812	821
1912	844	850
1913	864	864
1914	836	828
1915	861	843
1916	1014	919
1917	1232	947
1918	1386	879
1919	1669	934
1920	1851	907
1921	1537	887

Both these tables represent wages and income at the highest period since 1913. What is the situation in 1925?

The United States Department of Labor reports that the average hourly wage of common labor throughout the country is 38 cents in contrast to 49 cents in 1920. The rate paid by the Steel Corporation in that year was 48 cents; it is now 40 cents. Farm labor is now receiving an average of $49 per month compared to $65 in 1920. Factory wages in New York State for 1925 have averaged for men $28.26 per week.[80] Note that the minimum

weekly cost of the decency and health standard of living for a family of five is $37.09 for this year.

The National Industrial Conference Board of New York (Bulletin No. 16) gives the following summary of wages and hours for November, 1925:

Industry.	Hourly earnings.	Weekly earnings.	Hours of work per week.
Agricultural implements	$.606	$30.63	50.5
Automobile	.671	31.39	46.8
Boot and shoe	.457	20.34	44.5
Chemicals	.533	28.53	53.5
Cotton—North	.426	19.87	46.7
Cotton—South	.313	15.56	49.7
Electrical manufacturing	.594	28.24	47.5
Furniture	.544	26.25	48.2
Hosiery and knit goods	.420	19.38	46.1
Iron and steel	.631	34.48	54.7
Leather tanning	.505	24.65	48.8
Lumber and mill work	.478	23.69	49.6
Meat packing	.510	25.99	51.0
Paint and varnish	.539	27.48	50.9
Paper and pulp	.531	27.63	52.1
Paper products	.520	24.15	46.4
Printing—Book and job	.693	32.91	47.5
Printing—News and magazines	.834	38.15	45.7
Rubber	.649	28.14	43.3
Silk	.479	22.69	47.4
Wool	.486	21.88	45.1
Foundry and machine shop products	.588	28.90	49.1
Average	.558	$27.13	48.5

The retail food index shows an increase in the price of food from November, 1913, to November, 1925, of 59.13 per cent., and while it decreased in 1922–23 it is again on the upward trend.

There is an evident gap between wages and the cost of living, the minimum of the decency and health standard

of living for a family of five. If the nation's population is permitted to dwell below that standard, the costs in human misery and social care of dependents will be such that it will label our vaunted civilization a failure.

Is there any way out of the dilemma?

The Basis of a Living Wage

There has been a real fallacy in the determination of what should constitute a living wage.

Eleanor Rathbone, of London, in her book "The Disinherited Family," has vigorously set forth the error of determining the minimum living wage on the uniform basis of a man with a wife and 3 children dependent upon him. This size family has been used as representing the normal family whose number was necessary to continue the race. We are all aware that every family is not of this standard size, some are larger and others are smaller, and in some families there are no children.

In England "to pay every workingman on the basis of the five-member family wage would mean providing for a population of 8,360,000 men, the approximate number of adult male wage earners in 1921, and 8,360,000 wives and 25,360,000 children." As a matter of fact, in that year there were approximately 5,300,000 wage earners' wives, and 9,500,000 to 10,000,000 children. This wage then, even if it were actually paid, would provide for "3,000,000 phantom wives and for over 16,000,000 phantom children"[81] who are non-existent members of the population. And the pity of such a wage distribution would be that the families where there were more than 3 children would be deprived of what they needed, while families in which there were less than 3 children would presumably be receiving too much.

While 16,000,000 children would be provided for from

the nation's wage fund, over 5,000,000 children would not be getting enough food and clothes because they were not distributed in families according to the rule of 3 children to each adult male wage earner.

Douglas in his "Wages and the Family" has applied this reasoning to the wage situation in the United States. His figures annihilate the idea that the standard family of 5 is the most representative type. The 28,200,000 adult male wage earners on the average have not 4 persons dependent upon them. To have given each enough to maintain a family of 5 would have meant providing for 141,000,000 population, whereas in the United States in 1920 there were slightly less than 110,000,000.

"Payment would therefore have been made for 35,000,000 fictitious wives and children, even were the adult males to be considered as the sole supporters of the people of the country."[82]

At the same time there would be families of 4 or more children, representing 35 to 40 per cent. of the nation's children, who would not be receiving enough on a wage paid to the father on the basis of a family of 3 children. Also the wage awarded to childless or single men takes from the wage fund that which is required for the family of more than 5 members.

The author makes a proposal for the future determination of wages that the minimum wage should not be uniform, but that it should vary according to the needs of the worker and his family.

The basis of the wage should not be that amount which is necessary to support a non-existent family of 5, but the amount necessary for a single man to maintain himself, plus a comfortable margin to permit of savings for marriage. Another suggestion which he makes is that the basis of the minimum wage should be the amount neces-

sary to support a man and his wife. Then as children came, he would receive additional allowances to meet the extra cost which they imposed.

This proposal is adapted from the Family Allowance plan, which has been a system of supplementing wages increasingly employed in foreign countries, notably in France since 1916.

This scheme in France, with the exception of certain government employees for whom the plan has been in effect longer, is on a voluntary basis agreed upon within regional industrial districts by the employers. Most of the employers pool a jointly contributed Equalization Fund from which they draw the Family Allowance to pay the wage earner. This Equalization Fund avoids discrimination against the family man on the part of one employer. The Allowance is paid in monthly sums, the amount determined by the number of dependent children the worker has to support. In addition, there are lump sum maternity benefits and nursing benefits to the mother after child birth and allowances for aged parents.

The system has been so successful in France that in 1924 it covered 9300 establishments with over a million workers.

Many objections are made to the adoption of the Family Allowance plan in the United States. The principal one raised is that it would tend to increase the size of families beyond all possibility of adequate provision and that it would tend to increase the less endowed group. Such has not been the result, so far, in France where the plan has been in operation on a large scale since 1917. There has been no appreciable increase in the birth rate in families receiving the Family Allowance, but there has been a decided gain in the standard of living.

On the other hand, certain labor groups feel that this

plan would have a tendency to fix wages and that it would postpone the day when labor would receive a more just proportion of the products of industry.

The whole matter should receive careful consideration, for it is a proposal that has behind it experience in other countries. Discussion will no doubt increase the recognition of the discrepancy of wages and the cost of a decent standard of family living. And this may accelerate the increase of wages which is taking place now in certain industries through the co-operative effort of management and workmen to cut down waste and increase production.

Chapter X

THE SCIENTIFIC APPROACH TO A PROBLEM

In the foregoing three chapters effort has been made to determine the norm of family life. The quality of its essential elements of health, education, recreation, employment, and religion have been discussed in order to furnish a criterion of what the family and the community should provide for its members. In addition to its emotional satisfactions and its training, the family must supply a sufficiency of economic necessities, the cost of which for families of five was estimated in wage terms.

The clients of a family social worker are those who are in difficulty because their life experience is not normal. They are deficient in one or more elements of welfare. The scientific method enables the worker to discover what it is that is wrong and indicates what is to be done in order to help the client regain his place in the world. Therefore, we will proceed to discuss how a diagnosis is made and the plan of treatment that follows. The inquiring mind asks, What's the trouble with this man who has deserted his wife and 5 children and who has always been so steady until now?

The unusual has happened in the life of this man. His normal conduct, that of a stable head of a family, has always been taken for granted. His departure from his normal manner of life presents a perplexity which demands solution and calls for reflective thinking on all that has transpired up to the time of his departure. There is no escape from the demand that thought be applied

to the problem in order to learn why he acted as he did, and the discovery of the cause of his unusual behavior will suggest what to do in order, if possible, to get the family back to normal conditions.

The Place of Thought in Family Social Work

A famous Irish dramatist said of his country's reckless Sinn Fein idealists, "They will die for Ireland but few will think for Ireland."

The distressing situation of a deserted wife and 5 children certainly makes an appeal for action, but what action shall it be? Will it be that which takes care solely of their physical needs and accepts the situation of desertion as hopeless? Or will it take care of these physical needs as items in a larger plan of family rehabilitation, which will include the return of the man, if it contributes to the ultimate interest of the group.

While much social work consists of the business of adjusting the family difficulty, often involving the procuring of food and shelter, the getting of jobs, the persuading of mother and children to go to the clinics, the holding of conferences, and the writing of letters, it does these things only because they are parts of a plan, a plan which thought has devised as the way out of the difficulty. The social worker meets the challenge of what to do by starting a quest after the source of the trouble. Head work directs and co-ordinates the hand work and foot work pursued up and down tenement house stairs and over remote country roads, guiding youngsters in body and mind through the tangled traffic of every-day life. Deprive the hand work and foot work of the guidance of thought and you have impulsive action. This kind of action busies itself without asking the meaning of the trouble, for it does not even recognize that there is a problem to be solved. Thought-

less action is sure of itself and knows just what to do in any case. Then after the routine treatment is given there comes a crash; the mother leaves the 5 children, going away with another man. A bolt from the blue has befallen the impulsive doers, who become further involved in the family breakdown because to them the troubles "just happened." An historian reminds us that there is no such thing as a thunderbolt from a clear sky. "It comes from unobserved clouds, so the suddenness of an event is only the measure of our carelessness of observation."[83]

Let us take a simpler problem than that of a deserting father in order to examine into the workings of our mind when it undertakes to solve a difficulty. We are driving along in our car idly enjoying the scenery, day-dreaming under the spell of the afternoon sun. Suddenly the steady purr of the engine changes to a grinding and grating of machinery. (*a*) Recognition of the Unusual startled us into attention. Our scattered thoughts concentrate in (*b*) Observation in order to find out What is Wrong as we stop the car. We draw from our past experience to locate the trouble. We summon our body of information about machinery to (*c*) Suggest Causes. To (*d*) Enlarge Our Area of Observation in order to Test Suggested Causes, we climb down from our seat and lift up the hood of the engine. We start the engine again to observe the relation of its workings and to satisfy the Inference we had drawn that there lies the trouble. From the Known Situation that a difficulty exists our imagination projects itself into the suggestion of possible Unknown Causes. But this probable conclusion or inference that we have drawn is not supported by the facts of the case as we view the engine at work. However, we observe a Significant Fact, that all the parts are overheated, even though the road

we have traveled has been down hill. Our past experience and our body of information reminds us that an overheated condition of machinery may occur because of insufficient oil. We feel sure this cannot be the trouble, because 15 miles back we have stopped at a filling station and have been supplied with oil. However, we must exhaust all the suggested causes by testing them out, therefore we will look for supporting evidence. We discover, to our dismay, that the oil cock had not been completely turned off and every drop of oil had leaked out. We were prepared then to (*e*) Define the Problem, which was want of oil, and behind the problem to locate the cause, namely, the carelessness of that particular filling station and our own neglect in not supervising the job. The relation of Cause to Effect has been revealed, and What To Do in order to solve the problem has been made apparent.

All the time we had been carrying on this systematic and protracted enquiry, searching for new materials to refute or corroborate the suggestions furnished by Inference and the Significant, we had maintained a state of doubt. We had Suspended Judgment as to what was the trouble until all ascertainable facts had been secured, and, may it be added, in spite of the gloomy predictions issuing from the rear seat occupied by members of the family. In a few minutes a passing car brought back a can of oil and the difficulty was solved without further argument. This exploration into, and the discovery of, What Caused the Trouble is known as Reflective Thinking. It is the logical approach to that important part of the scientific method which accounts for the occurrence of events and reveals the relation between cause and effect. A conviction that behind every event there are uniform and invariable Causal Sequences is a state of

mind which is essential to everyone who demands an explanation of these events.

Science Versus Chance

One may be strong in the conviction of sequences and consequences of events, however, without possessing the scientific mind. To be honest, it is the exceptional person who does not have a special superstition, like the breaking of a mirror or sitting thirteen at a table, which he avoids, because of a belief that they are causes of trouble. While we live in a scientific age it is a fact that blind chance and magic to most of us offer satisfactory explanations of the occurrence of the unusual, and in many cases it completely dominates conduct.

A New England farmer friend of mine tells the following story: A few years ago he grew discouraged with a plum orchard, which after five years of cultivation had never borne fruit, and he declared he would cut down every tree. His great aunt Eliza said, "Ebeneezer, you'll do no such thing. Do not cut a single tree. Instead, hang horseshoes on the limbs." He laughed at her superstitious idea, but his good nature yielded, as usual, to the old lady's whim, and obedient to her orders, all the old rusty horseshoes from the barn were gathered and hung on the plum trees, when behold, after two years, the trees bore bountiful fruit. "Well, you know," said the farmer, "along came one of those smart chaps from the agricultural school, and I told him about it. If he didn't say, 'Sure! Don't you know when we find certain soil deficiencies, we dig iron filings in around the roots of fruit trees.' " The trained agricultural student could give the scientific explanation of the phenomenon because of observations, of experimentation, which had been carried on by the critical thinking of men and women who did

not believe in magic or blind chance; who because of their curiosity into the why of things, of their passion for truth, their impatient repudiation of snap judgments based on appearance rather than reality, their clearness of vision, their sense of interrelation, they were able to interpret the relation of small isolated events to larger meanings. They had discovered the way that certain chemical properties in the soil were connected and reacted upon fruit trees. When they had observed a repeated occurrence of the way, or pattern, in which this combination worked, they had been able to predict that if you control some of the elements of the pattern, namely, add iron filings to a soil found deficient, you will produce at will the same result. Thus from the particular they have been able to generalize and behold; order comes out of confusion, certainty is exchanged for chance, and we have a universal causal law. "The very fact that it is possible to achieve knowledge by observation and experiment rests on the existence of uniform and invariable causal sequences in nature, and on the fact that events do not occur detached from sequences."[84]

The agricultural student, by drawing from his knowledge of science, could explain that the slow dripping of iron water from the boughs of the plum trees contributed certain constituent elements to a general chemical formula, which had been discovered to be essential to the nourishment of plum trees.

But it may be commented that the old lady's superstition worked nevertheless. Therefore, why should not one depend on it rather than on laborious prosaic science? Well, try it again! This time divide the orchard; on one-half of the trees hang horseshoes of rubber. As long as they are horseshoes luck should be satisfied. Then into the

roots of the other half of the orchard dig the amount of iron filings required by the scientist. Which half will yield the crop of fruit? This is really a serious experiment, for the principle involved will determine the control of our universe. If luck or blind chance rules, then there is no place for knowledge. Scientific social work will be one of the non-essentials which society can dispense with. But if our world is ordered, is subject to law, then "The existence of scientific understanding, prediction, and control depend on the intelligibility of our universe and the possibility of framing universal laws."[85]

Family social work can do no less than appropriate the best of human knowledge to aid in solving human problems.

The Scientific Process of Family Social Work

To shape the high human adventure of family social work into a process seems as cold-blooded a performance as the compression of sensitive human beings into the iron virgin of the middle ages. Even so, art itself uses process. The art of music, of poetry, and of painting is a systematic series of operations which produce the symphony, the poem, the picture, by which hidden meanings are revealed. A process helps us to see what is. It takes a confused mass of material, picks out the high lights and the motif, and, subordinating the irrelevant, gives life and color to the essence of things which the artist sees but which is hidden from the ordinary person.

Family social work is an art as well as a science. It seeks to give meaning to the perplexities of life, and out of vague fluctuating human wants to wrest a way for the expression of a unified personality.

In speaking of the poet John Keats, Amy Lowell says, "He never got to the point of taking an interest in sci-

ence. . . . We have no record of his having been caught indulging in any scientific curiosity. I have a strong feeling that had he lived this would have come. Keats was keenly intelligent, and, after all, science and art are only slightly sundered halves of a whole. They may be likened to the octave and sestet of a sonnet, obliquely different in attack, but related by a common emotion."[86]

Diagnosis

Let us fare forth, then, on the quest for human values, employing the precise measurement of science and the emotional discrimination of art. In order to determine the exact situation of our client, to measure and evaluate his assets, liabilities, and the social forces which have interacted upon and have molded his personality, we will follow the way which has been found to be the most useful.

Finding Facts.—We know that our client and his trouble have not "just happened." He and the situation in which he finds himself are products of the loom of time. Conditions and forces, as well as ancestors, have brought him to his present condition, and his emergent situation is veritably an emerging to the surface of underlying causes. Eager for justice for her client, the social worker, like the Povre Persoun of the Canterbury Tales, "First he wroughte and afterward he taughte," seeks to learn the truth that she herself may be just. She believes with Huxley, "There is no alleviation for the sufferings of mankind except veracity of thought and action, and the resolute facing of the world as it is when the garment of make-believe, by which pious hands have hidden its uglier features, is stripped off."[87]

Walter Lippmann, in his Public Opinion, reminds us that we have pictures in our heads which act as symbols.

To learn that a client is of a certain nationality may call up a picture in the mind of a social worker which definitely prejudices her at the start. A Sunday-school teacher, anxious for his class to befriend a poor widow with small children at Christmas time, returned to the Family Welfare Society from which place he had obtained her address, saying, "I did not find the right Mrs. Anderson. The widow at the address you gave me was not poor at all. The home and children were clean, and their clothes were not ragged. To be sure, there were no comforts in the home, but I saw no squalor." Of this same widow, the sister of the Parochial School which the widow's children attended, said "Mrs. Anderson does not need help. Her children come every day to school with clean clothes and shining faces." "Why do good people put a premium on dirt and rags?" asked a visitor from that same church who knew the facts. She had seen the struggles of that widow to keep her home and children as they ought to be. The reason that her four little boys and girls arrived at school tidy and clean was because their mother had arisen at 4 A. M., bathed and scrubbed, washed, ironed, and mended before going out for the day's work. The answer to the visitor's question is that some of us have pictures in our heads of the poor, and when the reality does not support our illusion it is only the open-minded person who is not disappointed. Woe be to the social worker who, into her work with the individual, carries prejudices associated with especial types of people!

To find the truth at any cost may be as difficult and discouraging a process as archæological research. The Egyptologist, Mr. Weigall, tells how he assisted at an excavation of a site which he had selected as one likely to yield rich findings, but found as the net result of six

months of labor one mummified cat! Exploration into the meaning of the past meant for him sitting over the work day after day with the flies buzzing and the sun blazing, while tons of rubbish were carefully sifted. "Yet," he said, "that is excavating as it is usually found to be." Yet out of the dust and rubbish these very painstaking scientists have found the splendors of the past, which have revealed the human race at the height of achievement. So the social worker with a high enthusiasm for truth presses on through the dust of records, through the rubbish of hearsay, bent on her quest for human values which often lie buried under a sordid past.

Classification of Facts.—Science is not a mass of facts. It is classification of facts which brings order out of chaotic information. It takes separate findings and arranges them in related groups, which in their unity reveal a larger meaning. It helps to clear up the problem of the listless child in school when you can place this condition in the classification of malnutrition. Because you know that listlessness may be a symptom, a single evidence of malnutrition, your observation is directed to look for the other evidences of that trouble. You find that the child feeds on sweets purchased with the 5 cents which his mother had given him to buy his lunch. A visit to the home reveals neglect and a mother out working. Recognition of similarities induces you to look for still further evidences of malnutrition. This tentative classification gives a key to the meaning of all the child's life habits, and with these ordered facts you take him to the doctor.

Analysis and Interpretation.—The doctor makes his independent findings and weighs the information furnished by the social worker; he sifts all the evidence at hand and his judgment renders the medical diagnosis.

Analysis and interpretation of all problems call for maturity of judgment. They are the processes of selecting and rejecting competing choices of values and that which determines final selection is the philosophy of the social worker.

Statement of the Problem.—The problem of the listless child at school resolves itself into the immediate problem of malnutrition and the larger problem of the ultimate value to society of safeguarding the health of the little undernourished child by means of nurture, that nurture to be a mother's nurture, which if it is to be given to the child will probably cost society a mother's pension. Therefore, not only is the philosophy of the social worker involved, but the mother's attitude and the point of view of society itself in regard to the value of family life for children. Consequently, the making of a Social Diagnosis requires Philosophy, Knowledge, and Skill.

Treatment

Formulation of the Plan.—After discovering what is the trouble with our client, we must proceed quite as systematically to remove the trouble and to take measures against its recurrence.

Statement of Things to be Done.—These will be suggested by the problem itself, but even if we have been able to classify and interpret the trouble it does not mean that uniform measures of treatment will suffice. The time has come to differentiate the person from his class, for social treatment is as individual as diagnosis, therefore the plan is Adapted to the Especial Characteristics of the Individual.

To Assemble the Resources.—The resources within the family and outside in the community must be mobilized, and this process is the next step in preparation for the

placing of the keystone in the arch between diagnosis and treatment.

The Carrying Out of the Plan.—Persuasion to a Different Course of Action is showing our client what is involved in his situation and helping him to seize hold of the values which have been revealed by a study of his past and to convert them into renewed strength. A delicate task is this for the social worker. It is no time for moral disquisition on duty for duty's sake. At this point her art as well as her science is put to the test. If in the course of her findings she has not discovered the inward drive of her client's life, his desire, to which may be linked the dutiful deed necessary to a changed manner of life, she will have failed to help him solve his difficulty. With the supplying of a motive and pointing the way out, the social worker leaves the client to make his own decision. Any forcible imposition of a plan which has not been made his own will take away that very dignity and self-reliance which is essential to self-recovery.

The Securing of Co-operation.—Skilled service, friends, citizens will assist in the carrying out of the plan, once it has been adopted and adapted by the client.

Continued Supervision.—This will be necessary because human affairs are apt to change over night and they may necessitate a Revision of the Plan of Treatment.

If through all this protracted and systematic attempt to solve a human difficulty the social worker should obtain an overweening idea of her importance in the scheme of things, *Record Keeping*, the recording of experience, will puncture her inflation. The attempt to reduce her scattered findings and varied experiments to a succinct, lucid, and accurate narrative of verifiable fact will bring her face to face with her shortcomings. The record serves not only to clarify the family problem, but it challenges

the social worker to a self-analysis of her work. If records are to serve the further purpose of providing a collection of data which reveals the effect of social conditions upon human welfare, the social worker must humbly submit to the rigid discipline of critical thinking directed to her own practice, spirit, and philosophy of life.

Chapter XI

DIAGNOSIS AND TREATMENT OF A FAMILY PROBLEM

Part I—Statement of the Case and Its Diagnosis

The *App family*, which was first brought to the attention of the Family Welfare Society of Clearwater, a town of 12,000 inhabitants, on March 14, 1923, consisted of:

Father, Walter, age thirty-six, German.

Mother, Amy, age thirty-one, American.

Children: Florence, age eleven, attending school, in the fourth grade.
James, age nine, attending school, in the second grade.
Walter, age six.
Jennie, age two.

Parents had been married twelve years.

Father had had six grades of rural school in America.

Mother had completed grammar school in Clearwater.

They were members of a Protestant Episcopal church where they had been married.

The father was employed in a laundry. He received a weekly wage of $24. He was insured for $500.

How the Society First Knew the Family

The *family was referred* to the Society by the County Tuberculosis Nurse. The father was under the care of the County Clinic. He had tuberculosis of the lungs. The prognosis was favorable provided he would undergo treatment at the County Tuberculosis Sanatorium which

was located 50 miles from his home. He had refused to go and he had given as his reason that his family would be unable to get along without his earnings. The family had always been self-supporting, and it would be difficult to persuade them to receive outside aid. The father should be receiving a diet of eggs and milk which the family had not been able to secure.

The *Society inquired at the Social Service Exchange* and found that the family was not known to any social agency except the one which had referred it.

Neighborhood and Home.—A visitor from the society called at the home and reported that the family lived in a quiet respectable neighborhood and occupied a private two-story frame house. This was in fair repair, but in need of paint. It was one of a block with small front and rear gardens.

Father's Health and Work.—The father was seated in a rocking-chair in the front room furnished as a parlor. He was a tall, dark man, pale and emaciated, with an unusually attractive smile. He had been feeling too weak to work that day. He told the social worker that the doctor and nurse at the clinic wanted him to go away for treatment, but he expected to continue working because he could not quit his job while he had a family to support and he had no faith in the sanatorium. The mother, a small blond woman, looked ill and worn. Querulous lines detracted from the expression of her face, which had retained some beauty. Her untidy dress and listless manner emphasized her discouraged account of the family's misfortunes. She had advised the father not to continue working in the damp steam of the laundry. He had been employed there for fifteen years. He had seldom missed a day until during the last year and a half when he had hardly worked a full week.

Home Ownership Debts.—Seven months ago, for the first time, they had fallen behind in their rent of $15, which they had agreed to pay monthly on the original purchase price, $3000, for the house. When they had married they had started to buy it by paying $500 down. They owed for rent at the present time $105, and the landlord had just been in to tell them that if it was not paid by June 1st he would evict them and take possession of the house. In addition, they owed $25 for unpaid taxes, $10 for water supply, $18 on house insurance, $12 on the father's insurance, and $110 was owing on instalment payments for a green plush parlor suite in shabby condition and for a sideboard covered with red and white glass.

Children's School Health; Mother's Health.—Florence and James had been unable to attend school because they had had no fit shoes for weeks. James had lost about two days a week all winter from school on account of continued colds. Walter had not been entered in school because they had not been able to buy him suitable clothes. Florence had always liked to go to school until the last month when she had suddenly lost interest; she had been home for ten days and had done much of the housework for her mother, who had suffered from pains in her side and in her back. During the visit she returned from the store with canned frankfurters and buns, which she fed to Jennie; Jennie had to be carried, as on account of bowlegs she could not walk.

Religion.—All of the children except Jennie have regularly attended the Sunday School of St. John's Episcopal church. Having learned that the father had been sick, the rector had called last week and had offered any service that would be acceptable.

Family History.—The mother's father had been sexton

of St. John's church for twenty-five years. He and her mother had died eight years ago. The mother had been their only child and had been born and reared in the same house, two blocks from her present home. Upon graduating from grammar school, she had become a saleswoman in a department store and had earned $9 a week. She had had many friends in her youth. At the home of one she had met her husband and after eight months they had become engaged. She had been anxious to maintain the standards of her family and friends, and so she had insisted that she would not marry unless they owned a house in her home neighborhood. Since the father's income had not been steady, she had been made very unhappy to see her children less well dressed than the neighbors'. She had deprived herself continually for their sakes because she had been determined that they should hold their own with the best.

Kindred.—The mother had no relatives living except an aunt and cousin who lived twenty miles from Clearwater, whom she had not seen since her wedding. The father had a brother James who was a foreman in an iron foundry which had been closed down for eight weeks. He was little James' godfather. Alfred, another brother, had a farm in an adjoining state. Both brothers had families to support. He and his brothers had been brought to America from Germany by their parents when he, the eldest, was six years old. After two years toil a farm had been purchased. Upon his father's death Alfred had taken it over and had assumed the care of his aging mother. He had paid to each brother $500, the share of each in the farm. It had been this sum with which Walter had been able to make the first payment on the house. He had followed his brother James to Clearwater and had started working in the foundry. He had found that it

was too hard work for him, who had never been as strong as his brothers. He had taken the job in the laundry, which he had held ever since.

Father's Plan.—The father believed that if the doctor would give him a tonic, and if he could be transferred to the outside job of delivery service, he would get his health back. He was especially worried about the payments on the house, but he thought he could obtain a loan.

Mother's Plan.—The mother did not approve of his plan. She thought if she could secure the right kind of medicine which would make her feel better, she could take a place as a saleswoman and earn the family income. She would keep Florence home from school to look after the two youngest and the man could go for a visit to his brother's farm. That would permit her to rent his room to two lodgers. She and the children could double up in the other two bedrooms. She would thereby receive $12 a week room rent, which would pay the rent, the furniture instalment, and help buy the food.

The Beginning of Treatment Based on Medical Diagnosis.—The visitor had suggested that the father should be sleeping by himself; that he should take eggs and milk which would be sent in, and that the mother could bring Jennie to the orthopedic clinic, where the visitor would meet her and make arrangements for the examination of both.

The Family Problem as It Appeared to the Worker

Father, tuberculosis. Prognosis good, if he will go to sanatorium.

Mother, ill-health, poor manager, does not understand food values.

Children look undernourished; lack vitality.

Jennie, leg deformity.

Florence and James, retarded and irregular school attendance.

Florence's loss of interest in school.

Family debts, $280.

Family threatened with loss of home, upon which they have paid $2525.

Tentative Outlook for Treatment

Father to be persuaded to go to sanatorium.

Financial plan for family and consultation with landlord about house payments.

Mother and children to receive medical treatment.

Mother to be advised on home management and food values.

School to be consulted about Florence and James.

Consultation with Further Sources of Information and the Securing of Co-operation

The Church.—The afternoon of the same day a visit was made to the rector of the church to which the family belonged. He proved to be deeply interested in the family, which he held in esteem. He had been the one to suggest that the man go to the clinic, and he would use all of his influence to induce him to go to the sanatorium. He desired that the church should supply the necessary eggs and milk, in view of the mother's long connection and her father's faithful service. The mother had been indulgently brought up by her parents, and while she had been a fond and devoted wife and mother she had not received a training which would fit her for efficient housewifery.

Landlord.—A visit was made to the landlord, who was the son of the man who had given the easy terms of payment on the house. When the family had stopped payments he had considered that they were trying to evade

their obligation, though he admitted that the accounts prior to the last fourteen months had shown them to be prompt. He finally consented that if he could be assured that the man was really sick enough to go to the sanatorium he would give them more time in which to complete arrears. This he agreed to do on the condition that he would receive at least $10 a month toward the rent from this date.

School.—A visit was made to the school which Florence and James attended. Florence's teacher showed a personal interest in the child, who, she said, was bright and could have been advanced normally if she had not lost so much time. Formerly she had been popular with her classmates, but recently they had ignored her. The teacher had attributed the changed attitude to the child's poor dress; its untidyness was a marked contrast to her appearance a year ago. She had been to school but twice during the last month. Her medical inspection card stated that last October she was underweight and anemic.

James's teacher was indifferent. Her report was that he appeared dull, but gave little trouble in the second grade where he had been for two years. He had been absent for two or three days each week all year. His medical inspection card stated that last October he was deaf in one ear and had hypertrophied tonsils and adenoids. The usual report had been sent home for both children.

The next day the visitor attended the General Hospital, but the mother and children did not come to the clinic.

Kindred.—The afternoon of that day a visit was made to the father's brother James. He and his wife held some resentment toward their brother Walter and his wife because the latter had held aloof from them. James's wife was a competent housewife, and she was impatient

with the lack of thrift in the brother's family. All of this feeling gave way, however, when they learned the serious trouble which beset them. James said he would pay the rent while his brother was away at the sanatorium, and he would immediately fit out the children with shoes so that they could attend school. He had savings and the foundry was reopening the following week.

His brother had always been delicate, and his mother, with whom he had been an especial pet, had kept him home continually from the country school. His father had been a stern, hard-working man, and had been impatient with her coddling. On leaving the farm and coming to Clearwater James had encouraged his brother Walter to follow him when Alfred had taken over the farm. He had found it hard to find a job for his brother because of his limited strength and education. Finally, after trying an outdoor job at the foundry, his brother had left and secured one at the laundry, where he had been ever since. He had known that lately his brother had not been well and had lost time, but he had no idea that his illness was so serious. He would go that night to see him and offer him help, at the same time urging him to go to the sanatorium.

The next day a second visit was made to the home. The father had worked the day before, but had remained at home to go to the clinic. The mother was somewhat encouraged because of the help which had come from the church and the brother, but her own condition was worse. She had not come to the clinic because she had not felt well enough, and she had decided not to take Jennie, for she had heard that children overcame bowleggedness naturally when they became stronger. She further confided to the worker her hopes for her children that they would advance beyond their parents' position. For that

reason she had held on to the house and had put money into the furnishings, perhaps to the sacrifice of other things. The worker met an old friend of the mother's girlhood. She was a wholesome, sensible woman, who assisted the social worker in her persuasion of the mother to bring Jennie to the clinic. The friend offered to help the mother change the sleeping arrangements. In order to make a separate airy bedroom of the parlor for the man she departed, to send over one of her own beds.

The worker offered to help the mother get the supper, which was ready for the father upon his return from the clinic.

Doctor.—The next day a visit was made to the doctor who had attended the family in the past. He was no longer interested in them, and he had not been called upon for the last two years. His service had been that of attending the mother's confinements; he did not recall any other family illness, except that James had diphtheria at the age of five. His bills had always been paid.

After a week a visit was made to the hospital. This was accomplished through the co-operation of the mother's friend. The diagnosis for the mother was that she required a cervix perineum operation. Jennie's diagnosis was that she had rachitis. Special diet was prescribed and an operation was recommended with treatment to follow.

Two days later a visit was made to the home. It was found to be tidier and the sleeping arrangements had been improved through the efforts of the mother's friend. The father continued to refuse the sanatorium care. He had felt better and had been able to work three days that week. He would not consent to an operation for Jennie, and the mother felt she could not undergo an operation in the present family situation. She had tried the pre-

scribed food for Jennie, who had refused it. The worker offered to help prepare the supper and succeeded in tempting the child with wholesome, well-prepared food.

The following day the worker visited the hospital, taking Florence, James, and Walter to be examined at the clinic. Florence was declared anemic and underweight 10 pounds. Suitable food and outdoor exercise were ordered. James had hypertrophied tonsils and adenoids. This condition affected his hearing and made him susceptible to colds. An operation was recommended in summer, after he had been built up. Walter proved to be in fair condition, but was slightly underweight.

Diagnostic Summary

Liabilities

Man ill with tuberculosis. Unwillingness to take sanatorium treatment.

Woman in need of cervix and perineum operation.

Jennie, rachitis; needs operation, treatment.

Florence, anemic, underweight.

James, hypertrophied tonsils and adenoids; slightly deaf.

No steady family income. Debts $280.

Woman, poor homemaker.

Florence and James, school retardation.

Florence's loss of interest in school.

Walter not in school.

Assets

Man's devotion to family.

Steady employee.

Family's reputation for honesty.

Man's family standards; sense of responsibility.

Two brothers in fairly comfortable circumstances.

Woman's church connection; interest of rector.

Woman's family standards and reputation.
Woman's affection for husband and children.
Woman's friend.
Children's affection for parents and for one another.
Ownership of home almost achieved.

Causal Factors

Man's tendency to illness since childhood.

Man's poor education; faults in early training. Not accustomed to face situations and meet them; others have done it for him.

The woman's lack of training in homemaking. Her lack of ultimate values.

Woman's lack of proper medical care.

Part II—Description and Interpretation of the Diagnosis

The Referring Agency, the County Tuberculosis Nurse, recognized the social conditions of the family which contributed to the father's disease and its progress. For that reason she referred the family situation to an organization whose personnel and resources were qualified to render that sympathetic and intelligent treatment which would develop, conserve, and supplement the family's own natural resources. The required diet was one item in a general plan of social treatment. The nurse had no time, even if social training had qualified her, to render such service. An application for aid to an organization always presents an opportunity for many services, because one disability has many others in its train.

The Social Service Exchange is a bureau of identification records. Its confidential information is pooled by member organizations in order to (1) share experience and to prevent duplication and overlapping of service to

families and individuals; (2) to facilitate co-operation between the many forms of services which may be required. It contains only that data which will identify accurately the individual or the family involved and the record of organizations interested, from which the worker can proceed to secure further history. This will help her to render more adequate service. Communication is a necessary condition of co-operation. Every community which has developed social services should organize a social service exchange. Discoveries should be as free to the social profession as in others. To go it alone is a cardinal offense in scientific practice. Life is infused into the mechanism of an exchange by personal conference between interested agencies which its service facilitates. These meetings over a common problem heighten the respect and appreciation of the other's service, and prepare the way for the give and take of genuine co-operation. The information obtained from other social organizations does not fix certain patterned ideas in the minds of the social workers in regard to what kind of family they are dealing with. Suspended judgment sounds its warning voice at this point. Inferences may be drawn and significant facts noted, especially in the case of the App family, whose absence from the records of the exchange would seem to point to a customary ability to meet its own difficulties.

The First Interview.—The first visit to the home affords the opportunity under circumstances where the client is usually at his best. If privacy can be secured and the worker can convey the idea that she is not hurried, there is great gain over the formal surroundings of an office interview. Especially is this true because the home visit substitutes observation for many questions. It presents a picture of reality and significance because the client is

seen in the home and neighborhood to which he belongs; these molding forces are a part of him, and they furnish explanation of much of his condition.

The Introduction.—It is only the experienced worker who has no misgivings as she approaches the home of a new client. She knows that only the sophisticated have outgrown the atavistic dislike of a stranger, so her first concern is to make her client feel at home with her. Courtesy wins an entrance into almost every doorway, therefore she asks if she may come in. She explains who she is by telling of her connection with the nurse, the school teacher, the neighbor, who has asked her to call. By identifying herself with someone already known, she gains status and starts to break down the barrier between herself and her client, with whom she desires to establish confidential relations.

The Establishment of Confidential Relations.—In almost every home to which the social worker is called there is an atmosphere of discouragement. A sense of failure, temporary or permanent, depresses the family, and it is because "We haven't been able to get along," or "My boy, he is no good," that the family needs outside service. As the worker accepts the dusted chair her eye lights upon some sign of achievement in the home. The freshly scrubbed floor of the Polish family, the enthroned lace-trimmed bed of the Italian family, or any object representing taste or skill, which gives her something to praise. This spontaneous recognition of a power to succeed in some one thing will serve as a subtle reminder to the client of the satisfaction experienced in something done. Most human failures in life are those who settle back in the belief that they cannot do what others can do. With the client perhaps this has been beaten into him by being constantly told as a school child that he did not keep up

with the others; as a youth that he had been a disappointment to his parents, and as a man that he had been a failure. The social worker initiates her service by attempting to establish a basis of conviction on the part of her client that he can accomplish something; that he can amount to something. This simple little stimulus to self-appreciation, which has been incidental to the general conversation, also serves to overcome the sense of difference between the worker and the client. Along with the comment of appreciation the worker shares perhaps one of her own experiences in attempting to achieve something similar. As the client's situation unfolds there will be so many differences in life experience from those who are free from handicap that where there are any likenesses the worker seizes upon them, in order to emphasize those things which they have in common. Thus a bond of sympathetic understanding will appear and the client will feel the social worker's human quality more than her humane quality. This by-play of conversation has eased the way to the learning of the Emergent Situation. That is the purpose of the visit, and it is what the client wants to tell. Now to the client it represents a catastrophe which has just happened, and it is so close to him that it obscures everything else. If the Emergent Situation does not represent a critical condition like the immediate need of an ambulance and doctor, or the urgency of shelter to the homeless, the worker seeks to learn the history which has led him to the present difficulty. The App family was not an easy one with which to establish confidential relations, because of their habitual self-reliance and pride. Therefore the skill of the worker in establishing confidence is recognized. The record gives an outpouring of history which, for the most part, the worker needed only to direct into those channels which

not only led to the sources of the trouble, but which revealed the family at its best.

Learning the Family History and Standards.—The demand for the solution of the problem induces the scientifically trained worker to distinguish in the confused story those outstanding items which point to larger meanings. The little details about the health of each member of the family, the jobs they have held, the schooling they have secured, the good times they have enjoyed, the churches to which they have belonged, reveal the degree of welfare which the family has experienced or has been deprived of. From the light in the eye, the swelling note of pride in the voice, which accompanies the remarks: "He said they'd never had such a faithful sexton as my father, and the whole church turned out for his funeral," or "We pay our bills first, before we buy anything new. My family was always like that." The worker learns the family attitudes and values. The way they think about things, the way they feel, and what they have done in previous times of distress help the worker to see under the surface of apparent failure those assets and liabilities which will make for or hinder self-recovery. The worker held in her mind the normal standards of health, education, employment, and recreation, by which she measured these essential elements of welfare in the App family. When she discovered a plus or a minus quantity, for instance, the health of the father, she guided the conversation into paths which led back to possible causes, such as conditions of his employment and his health as a child. Behind all the apparent deficiencies she looked for the evidence which would support the usual causes for such defects.

Learning the Family's Plan.—Eagerly, she drew out the hopes which they held and the plans which they them-

selves had shaped to meet the trouble. Even if they did not coincide with the plans of the doctor, the nurse, and her own idea of what was needed, she did not at this stage press them to an entire rejection of their own plans. She suggested for their adoption certain obvious steps which she would help them to take and which would not commit either the worker or the family to a permanent long-term plan of treatment.

The Making a Summary of the Problem as it Appeared.—This represents the social worker's reflective thinking on the problem. In the App family she proceeded with dispatch to secure those obvious items of treatment which the emergency of the situation demanded and which had been prescribed by the medical agencies.

It should be stated that in a community organized with the usual social services that the task of securing medical service and treatment should have been referred to the public health nursing service. There was none in the town in which the App family lived other than the two overworked nurses representing the specialized service connected with the tuberculosis clinic and school nursing.

The Securing of Family History and Co-operation from Further Sources.—In order to find the way out of the difficulty all ascertainable information must be secured according to a way, a method which skill and experience has charted. The next important step in diagnosis represents a voyage of discovery; it often happens that the social worker has a similar experience to that of Columbus of old, who instead of finding a new trade route discovered a new world. The social worker's inferences, which she had drawn, lead her to expect certain findings, whereas frequently they have been disproved by facts and entirely new aspects to the problem have appeared. Pasteur describes the discipline to which he submitted

himself in his search for evidence: "While marching forward to establish some new facts he sought arguments against himself, and turned back to strengthen points which seemed to him weak."[88]

A family is what it is because certain forces have molded it. There can be no fair sympathetic understanding without learning those molding forces. Medical, educational, religious, industrial, economic, neighborhood forces, all have focused upon the plastic family, and have registered their effect either as a developing or as a thwarting influence. In addition to this aspect, these influences have been personified in the doctor, nurse, teacher, employer, landlord, social agencies, kindred, and friends, whose contacts with the family in trouble have usually been written into public or private records. This history of certain events, certain reactions, makes it reasonably possible to predict similar reactions on the part of the family under a recurrence of like situations. In the case of educational and medical records they will furnish approximately exact measurements of human capacity. The employer may or may not furnish accurate measurement of the vocational power of a former employee. It depends upon the equipment and character of the industry. Where history is obtained from the memory of persons instead of from verifiable records, then many different sources in these fields must be consulted. It sometimes requires visits to three or more former employers in order to obtain an approximate measurement of the worker's capacity. Testimony may only be accepted when the reliability of the persons giving it has been established. The convergence of opinions is, after all, our chief reliance in the search for facts. With the App family it was interesting to observe the recurrence of testimony from reliable sources in regard to family

characteristics. No less a concern than the securing of history is the securing of co-operation from contact which may be revived and stimulated to the benefit of the family. This was plainly demonstrated in the record under discussion when the landlord, the school teacher, the kindred, were brought into the circle of co-operation. Later in the narrative it will be found that co-operation was secured from the employer. The worker has refrained up to this point from consulting the laundry, because it would have been distasteful to the father, who had not yet been convinced that he had to give up his job. Consultation with the father's brother James, and later with his brother Alfred, represent that right of kindred to be considered. With the emphasis upon individuality, we are apt to differentiate the person from his kin to such an extent that the value is overlooked of becoming acquainted with the client's kindred and family traits, which explain so much of his attitude and conduct. Kindred possess indispensable personal history, which, to be sure, must be sifted of prejudice. Kindred should not be approached in ruthless defiance of the family's express wish that they should not be consulted. If such is the feeling, it affords opportunity to win the family over to renew this intercourse with relations and to assume a frank attitude toward them. The brothers, James and Alfred, demonstrated family loyalty and a sense of responsibility. These values the social worker frequently discovers. To ignore the family's prerogative and function represents an injustice and also unsound social practice.

Classification, Analysis, and Interpretation.—Upon assembling all available data, including the determination of new measurements of capacity in the field of health, etc., the social worker proceeds to classify, to analyze, and interpret the findings in order to clarify the problem

into a social diagnosis. Upon this diagnostic summary she may build the plan of treatment, which will be worked out with the family and its kindred.

It has taken the social worker two weeks to secure all the ascertainable facts and to initiate those items of treatment which had been called for by the medical diagnosis, the threatened loss of the home, the estrangement between the brothers' families, and the children's need of shoes.

She had also started teaching the mother about food values and the preparation of meals according to the advice of the hospital dietitian. The way she went about it was not to lecture the mother, but to seize the natural occasion of helping a tired, sick woman to prepare her meals. She thereby demonstrated that selection of food and its careful preparation which would furnish the requisite diet and at the same time tempt the appetite of the family.

This service would be performed by the specialist in a community which was more highly organized in social services than was the case in Clearwater. In large cities the Consultant Dietitian, the Visiting Housekeeper is often found as a regular member of the staff of a case-working agency, or in some cities and counties these specialists have a separate organization. The increasing recognition of the need of this service will doubtless bring the dietitian into more universal use and already the administrators of Mothers Pensions are making wide use of her service in unorganized communities.

Chapter XII

DIAGNOSIS AND TREATMENT OF A FAMILY PROBLEM (*Continued*)

Part III—Plan, Treatment, and Later History

On the basis of the diagnosis, which had determined the family's needs and capacities, the social worker proceeded to persuade the family to carry out a plan of their own, for which she made the following suggestions, after consultation with the nurse, the hospital, the father's two brothers, the rector, the mother's friend, and the school teacher.

The Proposed Plan of Treatment Was:

Father to go to the sanatorium.

Mother to go to the hospital, and later to receive convalescent care.

Jennie to go to the hospital.

James and Walter to go to their uncle's farm to be built up, and later James should be operated upon for adenoids and tonsils.

Florence to live with the mother's friend and to be adjusted to school and companions.

The home to be secured by the brother James' payments of $10 a month.

Debts to be paid and man's outfit for the sanatorium provided from a fund to be raised.

Upon the return of the mother and children from the hospital and convalescent care, the home to be re-established by the aid of a regular family allowance to be contributed by the church and Family Welfare Society, which will continue its service of counsel and advice.

Upon the reopening of school in the autumn, Walter to be entered.

The *plan of treatment* was gradually adopted by the family. The social worker visited the home twice a week, during which it was demonstrated to the father how well his family would live during his absence at the sanatorium if the mother would continue to carry out the suggestions. These were put into effect by gradually inducing the mother to follow the teaching in the selection and preparation of food, which enabled her to spend less money than formerly and at the same time to furnish nourishing and appetizing meals. The father's intermittent earnings and money aid from the brothers, together with the special diet of milk and eggs from the church, furnished the required amount. The family had been diminished in numbers because of the brother Alfred's response to the following letter when he came to see his brother and took James and Walter to his farm home.

To Mr. Alfred App, Titusville.

My dear Mr. App:

We are writing you in behalf of your brother Walter, about whose illness your brother James has asked us to explain. Your brother Walter has not been well for the last year so that he has lost about half his working time. He has tuberculosis of the lungs, but the doctor says there is a good chance of checking the disease, provided he will go immediately to the sanatorium. It will be possible for him to be admitted without charge to the County Sanatorium at Beaverbrook, where he should remain for six months. As you know, your brother has always been devoted to his wife and children. He cannot make up his mind to leave them and he is worried about their care. His wife is not well, but the doctor considers an operation will restore her to health. Jennie, aged two years, the youngest child, has never walked properly. She is very bowlegged, but we are glad to say that the trouble can be corrected by an operation and possibly the wearing of braces and treatment, including careful feeding. James, the nine-year-old boy, has not been

strong since he had diphtheria four years ago. His tonsils and adenoids should be removed, but he will need to be built up before this can be done. Florence, the eldest, carries the burden of the family. She is not growing as she should and she requires good food and outdoor exercise. Little Walter appears to be pretty well. In spite of this discouraging news about the health of your brother's family, we feel there is a hopeful outlook, particularly if all who are interested will help.

The hospital care and operations for Mrs. App and Jennie can be secured for $100. You doubtless know that your brother Walter is buying his home. On account of his illness he is behind on his payments, but your brother James has offered to pay $10 a month when he goes away. This will save the home for him as the owner has agreed to accept this amount for the present. Your brother has also helped the family in other ways.

There is owing monthly payments on the house, $105; for insurance on the home, $18; taxes, $25; for water supply, $10; for your brother's life insurance, $12. With the necessary outfit for the sanatorium, the entire sum required would be $400. The expenditure of this sum will safeguard their health and save the home. While Mrs. App and Jennie are in the hospital, plans will have to be made for the care of James, Walter, and Florence. A friend of Mrs. App will take Florence.

The church to which Mrs. App has always belonged is interested to help. It will give $25 toward the amount needed and $5 a week for keeping up the home after Mrs. App returns from the hospital. We hope that there may be other friends who will help.

None of this plan can be carried out unless your brother consents to go to the sanatorium—his one chance for life, the doctor says. Your brother declares he will not go because he is so worried about what would become of his family. They could hardly be more wretched than they are now. Both parents are sick and worried about one another and the children's needs. We feel that it is only right that you should know the condition of your brother's family. We know that you will do what you can to help and persuade him to follow the course of treatment which will restore his health. Trusting that you will let us know if we can be of any service, I am

Very truly yours,

(Signed) Social Worker

Florence's school teacher telephoned requesting a consultation with the social worker. Since the social worker's visit she had given more thought and observation to Florence's conduct in school; she had noticed that she shunned her former companions. She had made some inquiry and finally had discovered that Florence had been seen to take a scarf belonging to one of the girls, and also money out of her pocketbook. The teacher had talked with Florence, who had at first denied it. She finally had broken down and said she had wanted them so badly, but after she had taken them she was afraid to do anything with them and she had them hidden at home. The teacher had induced her to return the money and scarf. Since learning from the social worker of the child's physical condition and the heavy burden of work she had borne at home, the teacher had come to the conclusion that the child's conduct had developed because she had been practically deprived of everything a child of eleven required. She would endeavor to persuade her schoolmates to a different attitude, and it was agreed to secure for Florence some new clothes and opportunity for recreation. Membership in a club or a Girl Scout troop was proposed, where she would have pleasure and companionship.

During the three weeks since the family had come to the attention of the Family Welfare Society the father had been steadily losing ground. He would work one day and stay home the next.

The nurse conferred with the worker over the situation which she and the doctor considered critical. They had done everything to persuade him to go to the sanatorium and to avail himself of the vacancy which had just occurred.

The next day a visit was made to the home, where it was found that the father was ill in bed. That morning, upon

reaching the laundry, he had fainted and his fellow workmen had brought him home. The nurse and doctor had been summoned and the latter said he must remain in bed at least a week.

Further conference of the social worker with the nurse decided both to renew their efforts to induce all who were interested to persuade the father to go away.

A visit was made to the employer who manifested great sympathy for the family. He said the father had been a steady, faithful workman; he had never shown any initiative, but he had been so dependable that in spite of his intermittent work for the last year he would never give him up. He believed he should go to the sanatorium, and he would propose that a benefit should be given for him by his fellow-workmen with whom he is popular. He thought that the cash in hand would help him to make up his mind. If he went away, upon his return the employer would arrange an outside job for him.

After a week the social worker visited the home and found the man better. He was sitting out of doors in the warm sunshine in a steamer chair which the nurse had provided. Previous instruction had enabled the mother to prepare tempting food which the doctor had prescribed for him.

The worker took the occasion to point out to him how well the family had been able to live for the week or more while he had not been working; that the Family Welfare Society and the church would agree to see that they wanted for nothing during his absence at the sanatorium. That his brother James would take care of the rent; that little James and Walter were doing well at his brother's farm, and that hospital care would make his wife and little Jennie well. While they were gone Florence would stay with the mother's friend. After his wife returned from the hospital the Society and the church would make

it possible for the mother and children to be together in the home. A weekly allowance would be made for food, fuel, clothing, and other necessities. The six months of his absence would go before he knew it, and when they all came together again in their home they would be ready to make a fresh start in life. He seemed to be impressed, but made no decision.

Three days later the nurse telephoned that the father had decided to go to the sanatorium. He had told her that morning when she had visited him.

The following day a visit to the home was made by the social worker, who learned that the night before the Laundry Benefit Committee had brought the sum of $225, the amount realized by the entertainment given by his fellow-workmen.

Within the following week the father went to the sanatorium after the necessary outfit had been obtained. Before leaving he had consented to the operation for Jennie, so that during the subsequent week the mother and Jennie went to the hospital. The house was closed, Florence went to stay with the mother's friend, and the debts were settled. The mother had decided to return the green plush furniture and sideboard with its glass. She had considered it would be wiser to lose the $50 which had been paid rather than to pay out the additional $110.

Two weeks later a visit was made to the hospital. The mother and Jennie were found to be doing well, but Jennie would have to remain another month. The mother asked the social worker to write to her aunt, who lived thirty miles away, to tell her of her illness and to ask her to come to see her.

A visit was made to the mother's aunt instead of writing. She was a refined and delicate woman who lived in a tiny house of her own located on the outskirts of the village

in a large garden. She reproached herself for not having kept in touch with her sister's child, but she had been absorbed in the prolonged illness of her husband, who had died six months ago. She had heard that her niece and family were doing well; that they were buying their home, and that her husband had steady work. She would visit her niece and ask her to come and stay with her.

After two days a visit to the hospital was made and the mother was found sitting up. She had received a letter from the father who wanted to return home. He had felt very lonely and he did not like the sanatorium. The mother was undecided what to do. She considered whether she should return home and open the house so that the father might return, or should accept her aunt's invitation and thereby practically force the father to remain at the sanatorium. After a few days' consideration she decided on the latter course.

A month later the mother returned home looking well and fit to take up life again. Her house had been opened for her by her friend. Florence had gained and appeared blithe and happy. She had enjoyed her membership in the Girl Scout troop, especially their long hikes.

Immediately the social worker planned out a budget with the mother, which called for a weekly allowance of $18, $10 of which was supplied by the Family Welfare Society and $8 by the church, until the return of the two boys in August when it would have to be increased. The estimated cost of living for the mother, Florence, and Jennie, who required special diet, per week was:

Food—$8.00.
Clothing—$5.00 (required much replenishing).
Fuel and light—$1.00 (summer months).
Furnishings—$2.50 (required many replacements).
Extras, including insurance—$1.50.
Total weekly allowance—$18.00.

A weekly visit was made during the following months, when the allowance was paid and counsel and advice were given. The home took on an aspect of comfort and the mother enjoyed the making of her own and the little girls' clothes. The first of August James and Walter returned in splendid condition from the uncle's farm and James underwent the necessary operation on his nose and throat. In September the 3 children entered school well clothed and in good condition. Letters were received from the father who had become more contented at the sanatorium when he found that he had been gaining.

After seven months of treatment he returned home, as the physician declared the disease arrested and advised that he should go to work. Three weeks passed before he became adjusted to work. The mother had been anxious for him to change to another job, but after he had considered one or two he decided to return to the laundry, where he undertook the outside delivery service at his old wage of $24 a week. As Jennie grew older and stronger, the mother planned to supplement his wage by sewing and dressmaking at home.

Part IV—Description and Interpretation

The formulation of the plan for a family under care usually represents the result of conference with those who are immediately concerned in solving the problem. The individuality of the members and particular family standards are considered, along with available resources in the family and in the community. In the plan for the App family the social worker and the nurse saw eye to eye and worked hand in hand.

The usual method of establishing contact with distant kindred is to request a social agency in that community to visit the family and to undertake to revive its inter-

ests, to secure its co-operation, and at the same time to procure additional history. The American Association for Organizing Family Social Work* has prepared a directory of its member societies which, under certain conditions, are prepared to render such service. Organizations, such as local chapters of the American Red Cross, child-caring agencies, public welfare departments, may be requested to co-operate in this service. Case-working agencies which hold to professional standards observe the customary courtesy of giving such requests right of way before their own day's work. This prompt attention rendered by qualified persons constitutes a valuable reciprocal service of information and co-operation. The letter was written directly to the brother of Walter App, because there was no local social agency. It aimed to conserve the fine feeling and loyalty which the social worker had discovered were family traits. While its contents seemed likely to overwhelm him with its weight of trouble, it was calculated to arouse him into action. For this reason the social worker had delayed writing him until she could give him a complete picture of the situation, together with suggestions of definite ways of meeting the family difficulties. He responded to the letter in his own way and furnished considerable co-operation.

The school attended by the children of a family under care yields rich co-operation if its officers individualize their pupils. It is plain that Florence's teacher was one of these. She took a personal interest in her pupils, but she had been unable to furnish the full explanation of the child's loss of interests and estrangement from companions. This was because she had no basis of information about the conditions to which the child was exposed 80 per cent. of the time. Public school teachers, as a

* 130 E. 22d Street, New York City.

rule, have such large classes that they have little time to make the necessary home visits which would give them a sympathetic understanding and explanation of much of the conduct of difficult children.

Specialization within the profession of social work provides the so-called visiting teacher. She furnishes interpretation of the child's home and surroundings to the school teacher and makes the required social adjustments. The title visiting teacher is a misnomer because she does not impart instruction according to a system. The social worker is a teacher in the general meaning of that term, but she also effects certain adjustments which are determined upon because of the social diagnosis which she makes. This specialized social worker is also called a school counsellor, but the title visiting teacher is entrenched because it is in more general use. Certain aspects of social work have been called into being because of the failure of appropriate community services to fulfil their functions or to develop in proportion to the enlarging conception of their social purposes. The demonstration of the worth of such work as the visiting teacher has been accomplishing during the last few years has convinced leading educators that school teachers should receive more training in social science, and also that the size of their classes should be reduced so that they will have more time in which to enter into the life of the school child more understandingly. The school teacher will not be expected to become a social worker, but her study of the individual child in the home as well as in the school will tend to reduce the number of ill-adjusted children in the classroom.

In the case of Florence's school teacher, when she was furnished by the social worker with facts which she could interpret, she was enabled to direct further enquiry. This

yielded the accurate explanation of the child's conduct. Upon the basis of this finding, she was the natural person to draw out the child's confidences and to effect the reconciliation and adjustment.

Quite a different person was James's teacher. Her lack of interest was probably due to her lack of intelligent understanding of cause and effect. She apparently recognized no connection between the child's dulness and his deafness and low vitality.

Persuasion to a different course of action. There is no more important aspect of social work than the art of presenting all that is involved in the predicament to the client. The social worker of today is much more frank in her dealings with her client than in earlier days of practice. Experience and training have fortified her in a conviction of the futility of doing anything less than to give a straightforward explanation of the trouble. At the same time this forthrightness need not be blunt and bald. She need not sharpen the outline of the dark picture by drawing a black line which cuts it off from association with happier things. Neither does her art consist in softening the picture until the outline is blurred. Rather does she heighten other present values, bringing them into the foreground out of obscurity. The client is presented with a choice of preferences, to do or not to do. Mr. Lloyd Morris, in speaking of the poetry of Edward Arlington Robinson, said, "His insight is dramatic. He is concerned with personality and the dynamics of human character in those moments of choice when a complete past is harvested."[89] The client's self-respect is increased by the social worker who withdraws at this moment and leaves the client to employ that which is his intrinsic human possession, the power to redirect his own life.

While it had taken five weeks to bring the father of the App family to make the choice which meant welfare instead of disaster to himself, his wife, and children, it was time well spent. Out of his own gradual conviction came his decision to undertake the prescribed treatment for his disease. This step made it possible to carry out the further action required to establish the health and well-being of his wife and children.

What was it that brought him to change his mind?

His breakdown at his place of employment, which demonstrated his incapacity to himself, to his employer, and his fellow-workmen. Without his group's sanction that it was right for him to take prolonged treatment he would not have wanted to claim that right. To be sure, they could have been informed by the nurse and social worker of the man's condition, and if this crisis had not happened such a course might have become necessary. If the employer and his fellow-workmen had used their influence it is doubtful if he would have agreed to have accepted their advice until a longer time had transpired. To be sure there was the public health situation involved in his handling of clothes in the laundry. As a matter of fact, he worked with the articles before they were washed. He had had the disease while working several months, so that a few more days of contact did not signify. Actually he had worked but ten days since coming to the attention of the clinic.

No inconsiderable influence had been the work of his brother, the rector of the parish, the nurse, the doctor, the social worker, who had united in giving him the assurance that his family would be cared for in his absence. Added to their definite financial plan and help was the expectation, doubtless, of receiving a sum of money from the proposed laundrymen's benefit which would wipe out the debts.

The carrying out of the plan of securing necessary medical treatment for mother and children, of providing for their care, of encouraging the father to remain at the sanatorium, was the result of joint action on the part of kindred, friends, church, and skilled service. In order to carry the family through the pangs of separation, the pain of treatment, the tedium of convalescence, the social worker was called upon to practice her art, which is often not unlike that which old Thomas Fuller makes mention of in his Holy State of the Seventeenth Century: "A gentleman having led a company of children beyond their usuall journey, they began to be weary, and joyntly cried to him to carry them; which because of their multitude he could not do, but told them he would provide them horses to ride on. Then cutting little wands out of the hedge as nagges for them, and a great stake as a gelding for himself, thus mounted Phancie put mettall into their legs, and they came cheerfully home."

With the conclusion of this case, which on the whole was satisfactorily handled, the mind naturally questions the organization of society which leaves the financial burden and social treatment of this important disease to a private relief agency. In a countless number of communities there is no social service commensurate with that represented by the family welfare society of Clearwater. That service had been made possible by a small group of citizens who had recognized their social responsibility. The character of the town may shift and such responsible and able citizens may disappear from the population. It should be a matter of public concern to maintain a service which will make it possible for all men and women who are afflicted with the disease to undergo treatment with a knowledge that their dependents are being provided for. Anything less than this represents a social hazard of

serious proportions. There is little doubt that if Walter App, the father of 4 children, had been sure of receiving a sum of money regularly from the state to which he had contributed, and which had been set aside for the purpose of defraying the expenses involved in the illness of a wage earner with a family, he would have had little hesitation to accept treatment at a much earlier period.

Health insurance with appropriate adequate services is the plan which government should adopt in order that all of its citizens may be safeguarded from the disintegrating consequences of disease. Private industrial benefit schemes have not always proved reliable substitutes, because they have been known to dissolve when the industry underwent reorganization. When the public, together with the employer and the employee, pays the bills for loss of health, industrial accident and health prevention will occupy a more important position than they do today. In foreign countries where health insurance has been in use several years the results abundantly justify its existence.

Chapter XIII

FAMILY SOCIAL WORK UNDER PUBLIC OR PRIVATE AUSPICES

The conclusion of the last chapter advocated a public scheme of financial aid for sickness rather than relief provided and administered by private agencies. This raises a moot question and one in which is involved the development of other public social services. In the United States at the present day there is a distinct trend in this direction. Therefore those aspects of public aid which have been identified with the relief of families in their homes find a place in this discussion where obviously the general subject of social insurance is beyond the scope and purpose of this book.

The two spirits, Indiscriminate Public Aid and Niggardly Relief, stalk in the background of the minds of informed and experienced social workers. After the travail of the nineteenth century's endeavor to inject intelligence and sympathy into the relief of human distress, the spirits were supposed to have been cast into outer darkness. The development of scientific social work exorcised them, at least from intelligent circles. To the discomfiture of some groups, there has been a re-embodiment of the spirit of public aid in extensive schemes expressed in mother pension acts, public welfare departments, and proposed forms of social insurance.

The restoration of public relief to reputable social circles has aroused apprehension in the minds of those social workers who have been unable to envisage relief giving under public auspices divested of its ancient inhuman-

ities. Such characteristics, as indiscriminate and niggardly relief, call up hideous pictures of waste and neglect that were inseparable from the old administration of public aid as described in Chapters II and III. That such conditions are not entirely a thing of the past has been told in Chapter V, and further evidence of the brutality of ignorant administration of a contemporary county service is found in the study of Outdoor Relief in Missouri in 1915, "A terrible indictment of County Aid."[90]

It is not strange that there has been an aloofness from these perfunctory traditional relief administrations on the part of social workers who are committed to a scientific, sympathetic study of the needs of the individual in distress, and of the giving of appropriate, adequate treatment.

This attitude has been somewhat justified. Scientific social work has had a hard and prolonged fight to establish its principles in practice, therefore during the experimental period it could not divert its energy to till larger fields than its own private acre. It has been during the last quarter of a century only that it has brought that acre to fruitage and recognition. Now that its experimental period has advanced to a point where the value of its established type of service is demonstrable, it is in a position to encourage the engrafting of its product upon the neglected growth of public relief.

That very process is being successfully carried out in certain conspicuous state and county administrations which have gone beyond the experimental stage. Mention has already been made in Chapter VIII of the specialized service of Child Welfare Boards and Mothers' Aid Committees, which are administering mothers' pensions in a number of states on the principles of family

case work, notably work which is also being conducted by the Department of Public Welfare in Westchester County, New York. The humanized family service which this department is rendering has been the outcome of a private organization, whose policy has been co-operation with public administration rather than the adoption of an aloof attitude. The New York State Aid Charities Association has organized throughout the state local volunteer county committees, which provide a trained social worker whose function is to assist the public officials charged with the care of the poor, and to make suitable provision for children who require public support or public protection. Seventeen counties have been organized in this manner, and in more than half of the counties of New York state children's agents are employed either by these committees or directly by the public officials.

The Iowa Plan of co-operation with public officials is somewhat after the same manner. The Extension Division of the University became the leader after it had conducted a study of poor relief conditions, which revealed the usual results of an administration carried on according to the old traditional ideas by bewildered, unqualified public officials. Iowa's relief bill was $2,000,000 a year, while her poor were becoming poorer in the face of the fact that she has a higher per capita wealth than any other state.[91] Iowa now has organized local boards on a county basis, which include the County Supervisor and other public officials of related fields. These county boards employ a trained social worker as executive, who is responsible to the board for the proper social treatment of those who apply for relief from either public or private funds. In addition to this service, the Iowa Plan is helpful to courts, schools, and all agencies, whether public or private, which deal with the handicapped.

The early reorganization of Indiana's poor law achieved an administration which has consistently followed the standards adopted at that time, and to which allusion was made in Chapter V.

The State of Pennsylvania offers another illustration of how the state itself undertakes the task of raising to a humane level the work of public aid vested in its department of public welfare. It has recently passed a law reorganizing its administrative units into the workable size of districts. It has authorized the employment of trained social workers in these districts. It has corrected the ancient abuse of permitting justices of the peace to grant poor relief, a practice which represented a vestigial relic from the Elizabethan Poor Law. In a number of other states there is increasing recognition that the care of the poor is a social task which may be delegated only to qualified administrators. In addition to these typical plans of county and state administration which have been mentioned, it remains to tell of the assumption of the responsibility for training such administrators by the University of North Carolina. In 1917 that state experienced a sudden and sweeping reorganization of its old board of public charities into a comprehensive state board of charities and public welfare. In addition to the customary duties of a State Board of Charities, this board administers the mothers' aid, or, as it is generally called, mothers' pensions, and furnishes mental hygiene service to juvenile courts and to deficient and exceptional individuals. It also integrates into a State Child Welfare Commission the State Superintendent of Schools and the State Health Officer, whose local authorized agents are the County Superintendents of Public Welfare. The County Superintendent is the responsible head of the general Child Welfare Work, Relief, Probation and Juvenile Court

Work, School Attendance, Community Organization, County Administration, and State Co-operation within the county, and these activities are centered in his office. Of the 55 superintendents of public welfare, 37 have attended college, and the great majority have attended the summer institute for training in public welfare conducted by the University of North Carolina.[92]

The principles of scientific family social work are coming to hold a recognized place in the administration of public aid today. To be sure, extension of practice waits upon a larger available group of trained social workers. The increased numbers of university departments for the training of social workers witness to the fact that this need is recognized. The enhanced academic opportunities offered by universities will tend to raise the standards of social work and broaden its outlook.

The Association of Schools of Professional Social Work has determined that the most satisfactory preparation for social work is that which is conducted on the broad basis of professional education. To meet these requirements, it has suggested a specific organization of education. The American Association of Social Workers is organized for the purpose of bringing together professional social workers for such co-operative effort as may enable the group more effectively to fulfil its function in service to society.[93] It seeks to raise the standards of social service throughout the country. Membership is open to "men and women trained in social work who are or have been professionally concerned with problems of social organization and adjustment and whose ethical standards of performance and character are in conformity with those of this association."[94]

That which remains to be done is to break down the

diffused prejudice which often exists against public officials in the profession of social work. Wherever there is found an established private agency practicing scientific social work, there should be found a whole-hearted approach to the local public relief administration. The social worker needs to apply the same philosophy which she employs with the individual in distress, namely, her belief in the power of change and her knowledge that there is inevitable interaction between groups engaged in the same field of activity, whether or not there is a consciousness of the effect of one upon another. An inconsistent mental attitude persists in some areas, that of hopelessness that the situation of public relief can be improved. To be sure, with some officials, just as with some executives of private agencies, the only basis of hope for change appears to be a physical removal. Even so, changed attitude of present incumbents is not without the range of possibility, particularly if the social worker ranks the interpretation of her work with other important functions of the day's work. Appreciation and conviction that nothing less than the practice of scientific social work insures humane treatment of the poor will bring public opinion to demand that its public aid be administered according to the best of human experience.

In addition to improving conditions of public relief, the government is recognizing the social economy of prevention. This is finding expression in research and constructive programs which are being carried on in its departments of public welfare, state and federal children's bureaus, and departments of labor. The accumulation of data of typical instances of social maladjustment represented in social case records furnishes a basis for legislation and preventive work. Obviously the

value of such records for purposes of evidence depends upon their quality. With social work just emerging from its vague status to that of a professional status, all of its case records are not of a quality which would make them available for scientific research. The appreciation of the larger purpose of case records is increasing, and there is a larger number which accurately interpret the wide significance of the effect of certain social conditions on human welfare.

Can the Public Agency Preserve the Personal Quality of Service?

The demand for personal service which individualizes the person in distress has been the recurrent and insistent motif of the previous chapters. In view of the well-known political dominance and traditional routine of certain forms of public administration, it remains to discuss the possibility of obtaining a qualified social worker in those departments of government which penetrate into the intimacies of the life of citizens. A social worker must not only represent scientific preparation, but the spirit of human understanding and sympathy, which is indispensable for the task of family rehabilitation.

Scientific social work is committed to the principle that financial relief is only a tool to facilitate a larger process of help. Pecuniary help represents, as has been already stated, only a part of the general plan. If used detached from an understanding service it may jeopardize its very purpose; therefore a successful administration is inextricably bound up with the personal service of the social worker.

The answer to the question: Can public service preserve the personal quality of service, involves a much larger consideration than the service of family social

work. The answer actually will reveal what we think about government.

If government is regarded as something outside, extraneous to human welfare, a soulless machine for the making and enforcing of laws, then to it should not be committed the social services which call for the adjustment of the individual and the family. If government represents a depersonalized service, it should be stripped of probation work, which individualizes the delinquent in the juvenile court and in the family court. It should not include that aspect of public health nursing which cares for the individual patient. To be consistent, it should be relieved of that kind of education which individualizes the child; of that kind of service which adjusts a specially handicapped child, or re-educates the handicapped adult, calling as it does for sympathetic understanding. No, we are committed to a different conception of government. That conception is expressed in very simple terms by those students of government, Charles A. and Mary Beard, in American citizenship, "To sum up the purposes of government—as we view it in our day—is to do those things which cannot be done well or justly by individuals working alone, and to regulate the doings of private persons in such manner as to improve the general standard of life, labor, and education."[95]

In order "to do those things which cannot be done well or justly by individuals working alone" there must be a constant revaluation of what is well and what is just. To the private agency we look for experimentation in ways of doing well and justly. After these ways have been established on a certain basis, the private agency passes the demonstration on to the public agency, freeing itself to make further advance in defining justice and in determining the technic for obtaining justice.

One can visualize this distribution of service in the large as providing a field for participation of all citizens in the discharge of their social responsibility on a democratic basis. A recognition of existing inequalities of personal endowment and of opportunity will convince the citizen that in order to realize a real democracy in his state special intermediary services of human adjustment should be extended to the handicapped. The reorganized departments of public welfare, the children's bureaus, both state and federal, are fulfiling this function in as far as funds and personnel are available. But public agencies, as well as private agencies, will not keep alive the spirit of service if they do not receive fresh infusions of energy and purpose.

In this country the critical spirit is woefully lacking. The public makes little effort to procure qualified administration of its affairs, and what is more it does not exert itself to become informed as to the manner in which its delegated responsibilities are being performed.

All honor to the valiant citizen groups who have embarked upon research into municipal and county affairs. Much more accurate knowledge is needed, and it should be presented in such a form that it tells the story of public housekeeping and social guardianship in terms easily understood by the people. To realize how little interest the citizens take in public concerns for which he is paying and which affect his personal welfare, walk into any ordinary public library and ask for the reports of the local board of health and the board of education. After a search, you are handed from a mass of miscellaneous pamphlets a dingy, flyspecked report of two or three years ago. The fine print and formal text of these reports discourage any but an intrepid spirit from penetrating through their dry husks to the kernel of information.

Public service needs to be rescued from the cold-storage isolation into which it has been relegated by the great body of citizens. Most public administrators, upon taking office, enter upon their new duties with high purpose and determination to perform their work as well as they know how. They early become discouraged because of the public apathy which they encounter, and it is little wonder that some of them sink down into the deep rut of routine and cast away all aspiration to improve their administration.

In one European country where the war has depleted public funds, use is made of university students who are assigned public duties of social import, for which university credit is given and for which the university furnishes training and supervision. A national service calling for courage, intelligence, and devotion awaits the doing in this country. Why should not youth, who has the advantage of college and university training, representing a rich social heritage, be expected to render some return to the nation in regular social services? To be of any value this service would necessitate special training, which would be a recognized requirement in curricula and might take the form of supervision of public recreation and education of special children. For the more mature, tasks in housing inspection or in supplementary supervision of dependent childhood or old age who have come under social guardianship could be planned.

This concrete experience under effective and interpretive supervision would constitute a training in citizenship which would raise the competency of men and women for self-government. It would tend to enlarge their conception of society. Those who have had this experience would thereafter envisage the welfare of the whole group as inextricably bound up with existing poverty, disease,

mental defect, and delinquency. Such informed citizens would understand the social influences on human behavior. They would demand a qualified service which would make use of social forces in order to successfully achieve the protection of the community.

The following is an example of the work of a public health nurse in a rural community, who found she could not effect her purpose without an attempt to utilize these social influences.

A family of 7 children were observed in school as being very heavily infected with hookworm. The father and mother and two more children at home were found to be almost as heavily infected. Poverty and ignorance prevailed. The children were physically unable to help in the farm work, though two of the boys were of sufficient age. The parents were ignorant and suspicious of the work of the local health department, and they would not give their consent to treatment. They were extremely bitter and said that they would rather see their children dead than to have them take hookworm treatment. They felt very sure that it would kill them. The county nurse and the county health officer set themselves to win the confidence of the parents, and they enlisted the cooperation of teacher, neighbors, and relatives, but with only discouraging results. Finally a neighbor was asked if this father and mother had confidence in anyone. The name of a man about fifteen miles distant was given. This trusted friend was visited and the situation was put before him. He readily agreed to the plan of treatment and promised that he would exert his influence. After his visit he reported to the nurse that he thought he had made some impression, and suggested that she try once more to obtain their consent. Upon the occasion of the second visit they finally yielded to persuasion and

the children were given treatment. After four months they had made such rapid physical and mental improvement that the boys were able to plough and do other farm work. All of the children made progress in school. During the summer they were given a second treatment, and this time the father and mother undertook treatment as well. During the following winter so much improvement had been made that the remarkable success was the talk of the neighborhood and entire community. After four treatments over a period of three years the children are doing well in school. The grown boys are able to work every day. The family debt has been lifted and now the family owns and operates a farm of forty acres. The parents have bought two mules and a wagon, and this year they have cleared $300. A new and larger home is being built with some attempt at attractiveness and convenience. Sanitation has been included in the plan for this new home. With physical and financial improvement, education and morals have also advanced, until now this family is considered an asset to the community, whereas before it had been a decided liability. This family now stands for and believes in the work of the local health department, and in no section of the county can be found a stronger advocate of hookworm treatment.

Another instance of the understanding service of a visiting nurse, who has been socially trained to recognize maladjustments other than purely physical which retarded recovery in the individual, is found in the following treatment. A patient of the nurse was the mother of a large family, who lived in three crowded tenement rooms. Her recovery was retarded because of her worry over the oldest boy of ten years of age. He was called "crazy Abe" by the children of the neighbors who com-

plained of his conduct. By night he would not sleep and would get out of bed and scream "fire" through the halls. By day he was restless and continually fought with the children. The father had beaten him and of course he had grown worse. The parents had decided that the reform school was the only place for Abe, but the mother was distressed at the thought of such action. The nurse found that the boy was up to grade in school, where he caused no trouble and was regarded as an unusually bright child. She suggested to the parents that he should be examined for physical or mental disorder. They finally gave their consent and the nurse took Abe to the clinic. He proved to be sound physically, but the psychiatrist of the behavior clinic declared that the child was suffering from too much nervous energy without an outlet. His plan of treatment was that the boy should sleep alone; that the family should move to new surroundings, and the boy should join a boys' club. He instructed the parents that kindness would be better than beating the child. The parents have not been able to move, but they have carried out the other plans. Abe is attending two boys' clubs at the Neighborhood House; he is very much quieter in the home and sleeps well at night in a room by himself, procured by his parents in another apartment. He continues to attend the clinic. The parents are so pleased with the result of the treatment they consider that they would have done very wrong to have placed the child in a reform school.

These two instances furnish no argument for public health nurses to become social workers. They do illustrate that if the public health nurse is to effect her immediate purposes, as well as her larger purposes, she should know that a person is the product of social interactions with his fellows and she should become acquainted

with the scientific method of adjustment of these interactions.

A profession also engaged in the personal service of securing health adjustments for which social forces must be used is that of the dietitian and the home economist. For these related services to social work this book has endeavored to furnish an understanding basis of cooperation.

It has sought to familiarize the student with the philosophy and technic of family social work, in order that she may render her special service with an understanding of its relation to the social work involved because of the nature of the problem. Further, it has endeavored to give the nurse, the dietitian, and workers in allied fields that knowledge which will enable them to meet problems with some degree of adequacy when they find themselves in a community lacking organized social work. And it has attempted to enlarge the understanding of possibilities of service, so that when the nurse or the dietitian is the pioneer in the community, she will furnish leadership to the community to undertake definite social measures for service and prevention. Emphasis has been placed upon the kinship of those who face human need, who believe unswervingly in the improvability of evil conditions, who possess a profound respect for human values, and who have subjected themselves to a discipline of training in order to become equipped to serve.

But there is a larger purpose in this personal service. In as far as it does not confine its energy to the particular task of improvement but interprets its experience to a larger group it dedicates its knowledge to securing social justice. The extension of the area of justice must inevitably change. For what is just today in a small circle is seen to be palpably unjust tomorrow when a

larger circle is involved. A changing world calls for a continual reanalysis of what is just. In the past we have been content with such paltry amelioration of conditions that to be kind seemed to fulfil our social duty.

Today the new estimate of human worth calls for a leadership to win a changed social order in the knowledge that—

> Beauty and Peace have made
> No peace, no still retreat,
> No solace, none,
> Only the unafraid
> Before Life's roaring street,
> Touch Beauty's feet,
> Know Truth . . .
>
> John Masefield—*Good Friday.*

Chapter XIV

DISCUSSIONS AND REPORTS

Chapter I—The Reason for Social Work

Topics for Discussion

1. Is the Social Point of View Generally Held in This Country?
2. In Your Community Are All the People Treated as Persons Irrespective of Race, Nationality, and Social Status?
3. How Does the Housing in Your Community Compare with the Description in This Chapter?
4. What Contribution Does Your Community Make to the Sum Total of the Social Ills Mentioned?
5. Why is it that Benevolence Alone is not Adequate to Deal with Present Day Social Problems?

Subjects for Reports

1. What is Your Community Doing to Control, Improve, or Diminish the Following Social Conditions? Housing, Child Labor, Unemployment, Industrial Accidents, Working Conditions Affecting Women in Industry, Physical and Mental Health.

Chapter II—Backgrounds of Social Work

Ancient Pathways

Topics for Discussion

1. What Ancient Ways of Helping Human Distress can be Described as Static, as Dynamic?

2. What Ancient Methods of Help Are in Use Today? Are Any of These Efficient?

3. What is the Contribution of Religion to Solving the Problem of Human Distress?

4. Discuss the Merits and Defects of Church Relief.

5. What Were the Outstanding Differences Between the Aid Administered by the Early Christian Church and that of the Middle Ages?

Subjects for Reports

1. The Early History of Nursing Administered Together with Social Aid.

2. The Roman Use of Law to Restrict Oppression of the Weak by the Strong.

3. The Mediæval Church and Charity.

4. Scientists Who Have Sacrificed Their Lives for Humanity.

5. Social Service Programs of the Present-day Catholic, Protestant Churches, and Jewish Organizations.

CHAPTER III—BACKGROUNDS OF SOCIAL WORK—*Continued*

MODERN PATHWAYS

Topics for Discussion

1. How Was the Common Man Affected by the Decay of the Feudal System?

2. What Was the Attitude of the Employer and the Government Toward the Labor Situation?

3. Compare the Almsgiving of the State With That of the Church.

4. How Was the Poor Man Affected by the Change in Production, in Political Thought in England.

5. Contrast the Living Conditions of the Worker Before and After the Industrial Revolution.

Subjects for Reports

1. The Early Struggle for Human Rights in England.
2. The Control of the State Over Labor; Hours, Wages, and Poor Relief Before and After the Industrial Revolution, Affecting (*a*) Men Wage Earners; (*b*) Women Wage Earners; (*c*) Child Laborers.

Chapter IV—Social Work and Social Progress

Topics for Discussion

1. Has Sympathy Alone Proved to be Adequate to Solve Social Problems?
2. Contrast the Scientific Method of Helping Human Distress with the Ancient Method.
3. Is the Laissez-faire Doctrine of the Nineteenth Century a Thing of the Past?
4. Why is the Individualistic Theory of Life Inapplicable to Modern Civilization?
5. What is the Justification for State Control over Health, Education, Child Labor, Neglected Children?

Subjects for Reports

1. The Revision of the English Poor Law.
2. The Charity Organization Movement.
3. The Settlement Movement.
4. The Visiting Nurse Movement.
5. The History of the Red Cross.

Chapter V—The Ancient and Modern in Present-day Practice

Topics for Discussion

1. Does the Description of the City of D—— Apply to Other American Cities?

2. How Does the Poor Department Operate in Your Community?

3. If You Felt the Need of Family Social Work in Your Community, and There Was No Organized Case-working Agency, How Would You Meet Such a Problem as the Evans Family?

4. Are Such Organizations as the Sunbeam Club an Asset to the Community?

5. What Provision for the Feeble-minded Does Your State Make?

Subjects for Reports

1. What Are the Causes of Feeble-mindedness?

2. The Change of Thought in Regard to Feeble-mindedness.

3. The Social Treatment of the Feeble-minded.

4. Legal Restrictions of the Marriage of the Feeble-minded.

5. The Court of Domestic Relations.

CHAPTER VI—THE FAMILY—ORIGINS AND CONTINUITIES

Topics for Discussion

1. How Does the Modern Family Qualify as a Training Center for Citizenship?

2. What is the Social Significance of the Human Infancy Period?

3. Why is Marriage a Matter of Social Concern?

4. What Determines the Development of the Physical, Mental, Moral, and Spiritual Life of the Child?

5. How Does Social Work Employ These Determining Factors?

Subjects for Reports

1. The Permanent Values of Family Life Derived from Primitive Days; from Patriarchal Days.

2. The Patriarchal Family in an Industrial Civilization.
3. The Mental Hygiene of Childhood.
4. The Status of the Child in the Primitive Home and in the Patriarchal Home.
5. The Qualities in Man Which Are Most Needed in Modern Civilization.

Chapter VII—An Immigrant Family in a Changing World

Topics for Discussion

1. What Are the Causes of Periodic Strikes in the Mining Industry?
2. What Are the Living Conditions in Most Mining Towns?
3. What Are the Causes of Child Labor?
4. How is the School System in Your Community Meeting the Problem of the Retarded Child?
5. What Provision Does Your Community Make for Leisure Time Activities of Youth?

Subjects for Reports

1. The Assimilation of the Immigrant.
2. The School and the Truancy Problem.
3. The Psychology of Delinquency.
4. The History of the Juvenile Court.
5. The Future of the Juvenile Court.

Chapter VIII—An American Family in a Changing World

Topics for Discussion

1. What Are the Reasons for the Shift of Population from Rural to Urban Life?
2. What is the Condition of Social Institutions in the Rural Section of Your State?

3. What Measures Are Being Taken by Government to Improve Rural Life?

4. What Does Your State College Do for the Farmer?

5. How Has Modern Industry Affected the Status of Woman?

Subjects for Reports

1. Family Support by Wage Earning Women.

2. Social Results of Pensions for Mothers.

3. The Administration of Pensions for Mothers in Your Community.

4. The Working of the Minimum Wage Laws in the United States.

5. The Prevention and Treatment of Tuberculosis in Your Community.

Chapter IX—The Family Standard of Living

Topics for Discussion

1. Define a Standard of Living. What Are the Factors Which Determine it?

2. What Are the Customs and Traditions That Hamper the Adjustment of the Family to Modern Conditions?

3. What is the Significance of the Recent Increase in Divorce?

4. Does the Rise of Wages Since 1914 Enable the Average Wage Earner to Maintain His Family's Standard of Living on a Decency and Health Level?

5. What is the Standard of Living Level of the Average Wage Earner in Your Community?

Subjects for Reports

1. The Chasm Between Wages and the Cost of Living Prior to 1914.

2. Dependent Old Age in the United States.

3. Old Age Pensions.
4. The Family Allowance Plan Abroad.
5. The Significance of the Lowered Birth Rate.

Chapter X—The Scientific Approach to a Problem

Topics for Discussion

1. What is the Purpose of a Social Diagnosis?
2. How is the Scientific Method Applied to the Solution of a Human Problem ?
3. What is the More Common Belief of Control of the Universe, Control by Luck or Control by Law?
4. At What Stage of the Inquiry Are We Prepared to State What the Trouble is?
5. What Must the Social Worker Acquire in Order to Successfully Help Human Distress?

Subjects for Reports

1. Pasteur and the Scientific Method.
2. The Influence of Science on Public Opinion.
3. The Use of the Case Work Method in the Fields of Hospital Social Service, Juvenile Court, Domestic Relations Court, Mental Hygiene, Child Care, Religious Work.

Chapter XI—Diagnosis and Treatment of a Family Problem

Topics for Discussion

1. Why is Tuberculosis Known as a Social Disease?
2. What Conditions of Modern Life Bear Upon the Disease of Rachitis?
3. How Prevalent is Malnutrition Amongst Children?
4. What Education in Home Management is Given in

the Schools of Your Community, and How Practicable is It?

5. How Does the Social Service Exchange in Your Community Function, or if You Have None, How Would You Proceed to Organize One?

Subjects for Reports

1. Health Education in the School.
2. Medical Inspection and the School Nurse.
3. The Dietitian in the Hospital and Clinic.
4. The Visiting Housekeeper Movement.
5. The Dietitian Consultant to the Social Agency.

CHAPTER XII—DIAGNOSIS AND TREATMENT OF A FAMILY PROBLEM—*Continued*

Topics for Discussion

1. How much Social History of the Family Should be Obtained by the Nurse, the Dietitian, the Home Demonstration Agent, and the Special Teacher?

2. How Would You Make a Family Budget?

3. What is the Difference Between the Catastrophic Point of View and the Historic Point of View?

4. What is the Best Way to Persuade a Person to a Different Course of Action?

5. What Was the Relation of the Nurse and the Social Worker in the Case Under Discussion?

Subjects for Reports

1. The New Attitude Toward Convalescent Care.
2. The Instalment Plan of Purchase.
3. Sick Benefits in Industrial Plants.
4. Health Insurance in Foreign Countries.
5. Periodic Health Examinations.

Chapter XIII—Family Social Work Under Public or Private Auspices

Topics for Discussion

1. How is the Department of Welfare, or State Board of Charities, or State Board of Control, Organized in Your State?
2. What Are the Requisite Qualifications of Public Officials in These Departments or Boards, Also of Your County Boards?
3. How is Your County Organized to Take Care of the Poor and the Sick?
4. Is the Public Attitude Toward the Administration of State and County Institutions one of Interest or Indifference in Your Community?
5. How Can the Interest of the Citizen be Aroused in the Social Services of His Community?

Subjects for Reports

1. The Work of the Federal Children's Bureau.
2. The Place of Family Social Work in the Community.
3. The Relation of Public Officials to Private Social Agencies.
4. The Socialization of Public Opinion.
5. Education for Social Leadership.

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"A" Food Allowance. Carefully Used It Furnishes an Adequate Diet for Growing Children in Family of Five*

Suggested Food Order for Family of Five—Father, Mother, Boy Ten, Girl Seven, Boy Three—One Week

Food.	Amount.	Unit cost.	Total cost.
Milk	21 qts.	$0.145	$3.05
Cheese or peanut butter	½ lb.	0.34	0.17
Eggs	12	0.42	0.42
Meat and fish	5–6 lbs.	meat, 0.26 fish, 0.11	1.11
Fish, salted or smoked	½ lb.	0.22	0.11
Potatoes	1 pk.	0.85	0.85
Beets, cabbage, onions, carrots, spinach, string-beans, squash, or other inexpensive vegetables in season	9–13 lbs.	0.05–0.10	0.77
Beans, or peas, dry	1½ lbs.	0.08	0.12
Fruit, dry:			
Prunes, apples, raisins, dates	2 lbs.	0.13	0.26
Peaches when not more than 25 cents a pound.			
Fruit, fresh	4–6 lbs.	apple, 0.062	
Apples, bananas, oranges, and other fruits in season.		orange, 0.39	0.38
Bread	12 lbs.	0.072	0.87
Cornmeal, cornstarch, farina, flour, graham flour, rolled oats, macaroni, rice, tapioca	9–12 lbs.	0.045–125	0.86
Sugar	3 lbs.	0.06	0.18
Molasses	1 lb. can	0.13	0.13
Butter substitute, lard, salt pork, oil or other fat	3 lbs.	B. sub., 0.29 Lard, 0.20 S. pork, 0.20	0.78
Cocoa	¼ lb.	0.18	0.05
Tea	2 oz.	0.60	0.08
Coffee	½ lb.	0.43	0.22
Sundries			0.10
Total			$10.51

* Reprinted by permission of Community Health Association, Boston, Mass., March, 1926.

"B" Allowance Order*

Food,	Amount.	Unit cost.	Total cost.
Milk	21 qts.	$0.145	$3.05
Cheese	½ lb.	0.34	0.17
Eggs	1½ doz.	0.42	0.63
Meat	5 lbs.	0.26	1.30
Fish	3 lbs.	0.11	0.33
Salt fish	½ lb.	0.22	0.11
Potatoes	1 pk.	0.85	0.85
Beets	2 lbs.	0.05	0.10
Cabbage	3 lbs.	0.06	0.18
Carrots	2 lbs.	0.08	0.16
Onions	2 lbs.	0.05	0.10
Lettuce	1 head	0.15	0.15
Spinach	1 pk.	0.30	0.30
Beans, dry	1½ lbs.	0.08	0.12
Prunes	2 lbs.	0.15	0.30
Apples	5 lbs.	0.06¼	0.32
Oranges	1 doz.	0.39	0.39
Bread	12 lbs.	0.072	0.87
Cornmeal	1 lb.	0.05	0.05
Farina	1 pkg.	0.28	0.28
Graham flour	5 lbs.	0.07	0.35
Rice	1 lb.	0.10	0.10
Macaroni	1 lb.	0.135	0.14
Rolled oats	3 lbs.	0.04½	0.14
Sugar	3 lbs.	0.06	0.18
Molasses	1 lb., 1 oz. can	0.13	0.13
Butter	2 lbs.	0.49	0.98
Lard	½ lb.	0.20	0.10
Salt pork	½ lb.	0.20	0.10
Cocoa	¼ lb.	0.18	0.05
Tea	2 oz.	0.60	0.08
Coffee	½ lb.	0.43	0.22
Sundries	....	.....	0.10
			$12.43

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